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THE
FIRST PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

EXTENDING

To the Conquest of so much of *Britain*, as was Sub-
jected by the *Romans*.

With an Introductory Preface to the whole.

Written in the YEAR, 1666.

By John Milton Not Milton's

LONDON,

Printed for J. C. and are to be sold by *William Grantham* in
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Street, 1668.

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LONDON

Printed for J. C. and are to be sold by William Grafton in
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AN
INTRODUCTION
to the READER.



Aving had opportunity and leifure, for fome time; during the late Revolutions, to obferve feveral remarkable paffages and the confequences thereof, which have been fatal amongst us here in *England*, fuch perhaps as the World cannot overmatch, if equal, for variety and value: And taking notice further, that the root from which they fprang was double pointed, the one part whereof confifting in miftakes, the other in defigns, I thought I might not do an unacceptable Work to my Country, in endeavouring an Explanation of the one, and to lay open the other; and in committing Errors hope to be the rather pardoned, fince what is here fet down is not founded on any other bottom than that of a fincere meaning.

Hereupon I thought it good to write of the Actions of men, and confine the fubject to thofe of this Nation; wherein notwithstanding having a large Field, we might as we pafs along take full liberty to obferve and report what is condu cible to the fecond purpofe; and in the beginning, by way of Introduction, difcufs certain Principles of great notice in the World, and not of different nature with the chief fubject which may tend to unfold fome mifapprehenfions, and alfo produce a general and beneficial Influence in our paffage through the larger Work.

The beginning muft be low of fome neceffity, even upon the very firft rudiments of Nature, though it feem at prefent diftant and foreign to the purpofe in hand. Neither can it well be otherways than fomewhat large; but this is our

confidence, though the proportion of the entrance to the following Edifice is not very just and suitable, especially at this first impression, when a very small part only discovers it self, yet they may hereafter, or it will at least render the Fabrique more stable and capacious.

Some Philosophers hold that the Universe is an entire Mass, infinite in respect of extent and divisibility, that is as much as to say, without termination or bounds, and may be divided into parts alwayes divisible, and but of one nature or disposition: seeing then that there is motion in it, consequentially it may follow, either that such moving is *ab aeterno* (for it is a contradiction to say that some other thing moves it) or that the Universe has power of it self to cause it's own motion; if the first were true, does it not follow likewise that there is no God in the World, which is against the light of reason, and the impressions in all mankind; and if the second, that he is of the same nature with the other parts of the Mass, as Earth or Water; and so of further consequence, that every chip of Wood or Stone is part of the Godhead, which is absurd. It may seem also inferreable of like necessity, that the faculties or powers of the Soul of Man, or other Animals, to know, to move, to be in pain, or to be pleased, are but the effects of the frame of those bodies wherein they are, and arise from the figure and composition of part of the world, and unavoidably that Religion is but a craft whereby men are kept in awe; all which, in some parts appear insensible, in others contrary to the light of nature and of reason, to common sense, the universal apprehension of sober and wise men in all Ages, and would bring in with it a train of unspeakable mischiefs to a Commonwealth, and all Mankind, were it generally believed and admitted; and thereupon, contrary even to the nature of Truth, the fruits whereof are alwayes good.

Other Philosophers think that the universe is compounded of a certain number of beings indivisible in themselves, though in respect of their quantity they may be Mathematically and Imaginarily divided, and that they are all of one nature, that their motion is not from any power within them, but either *ab aeterno*, or from the composition of some or all of them; the consequences are much alike with those of the foregoing Doctrine, and for the reasons then mentioned are to be rejected.

A third there are who suppose several of divers nature, some whereof have a power to resist penetration within the Sphere of their own beings, which is also a cause of their capacity to be moved, and are or may be called simple beings; others have withall further a faculty to know, to be in pain, to be pleased, to move, &c. and are or may be named Souls; some whereof, and not others, have also a power to reason, and are called rational Souls, (wisdom seems to flow from the faculty of reasoning, and not to be one in it self) they are likewise of opinion there may be other beings, such as we call Spirits or Angels, and some past stories make mention of their appearances and actions; but of their nature, faculties, and business they presume that we have scarce any knowledge, unless by revelation; but strongly conclude, their employment is not to frighten and sport with Women and Children, and the weaker sort of melancholick men; but rather that such kind of institutions were first promoted by certain Silver-Smiths, who making Shrines for the Temple of Diana, did thereby bring no small gain unto the Crafts-men. They doubt not of a fifth, being different from the other four, who fram'd the World, and all things therein, and does still govern it. Which Opinions are agreeable to those of Wise men in all Ages, to the impressions in our Nature, the light of Reason, the benefit universally of Mankind, and upon which, neither inconvenience, nor absurdity appears to follow.

I forbear to make a more particular entry into the first principles, or use other arguments to my intended purpose, because this part would too much increase; and I choose rather for confirmation to any that shall doubt to refer him to the searches of his own reason, and the body of this Introductory Discourse, from the congruity whereof, to the light of Nature, and of Reason, and the consent within it self, may some arguments perhaps flowe.

2. Of those beings before-mentioned in this place, we shall chiefly consider *Man*, under which word is comprehended Male and Female, and either consist of Soul and Body: The first is a single being, the second compound also, because the one is not divisible, as we think, and the other may be actually divided.

Whether the parts of the Body, or the Soul it self, had not a being *ab aeterno*, it may be is not penetrable by reason; and then we must have recourse to revelation, and out of Holy Writ we are taught, that Almighty God created both.

To proceed a little further, what is not constituted by some Agent, is so by chance now, by the many thousand purposes that one may observe the parts of Man made for, it may well be concluded, it was in such estate by contrivance, and not casually. Further that there was a first man of every Family, because men are born in time, and the Notions of time that are intelligible, have periods. That there was only one at first, or Male and Female, seems not unreasonable, in respect, that in all times the Actions generally of Men, much resemble one another.

In a Body is considerable, the Appetite, which is a propensity arising from the constitution of the consistent parts, and the quality of the fluid, without which, Children, for want of Notions, and Fools and Madmen, from a defect in the parts of the Body, not being able sufficiently to exercise the faculties of their Souls, could not subsist. They are many, some whereof are these; a propensity to eat and drink, which begins early, even from the birth, to live; and when we come to a full growth, and so not far from the beginning of our decay (which God designs also) to generate and propagate our species; and when they are born to nourish and defend them, not being capable of securing themselves, and many other; which are all common to man, with other animals. From an exorbitant disposition therein, proceeds generally the violence of one Animal upon another, and is in Man more extravagant usually than in others, but in him is a rational Soul to correct and regulate it.

In the Soul is observable, a faculty to know; now knowledge seems to be an impression on the mind, imprinted from without, by the conveyance of the Senses: if it come through the Eye it is called a sight, through the Ear a sound, the Pallate a taste, the Nose a smell, and any other part of the Body a touch. Hence it follows, that of Bodies, which are fit objects of our senses, we discourse with some certainty; as of the learning, about quantities, called Mathematical, and not considerably improved since the antient time of *Euclid*; and our minds

not

not being infinite, but quantities limited, we have no intelligible notions of infiniteness or aternity. Hereupon further, that of what makes no impressiion on the mind, we talk of but by guess, as we do of Spirits or Angels, and have no knowledge of them, unless revealed; and of such things which are at so great a distance as we cannot receive well distinguisht notions of them, we do but conjecture at too, as of those of Astronomie; and of such as are so little, that they come not into the mind, but imperfectly, or not at all, we likewise but guess at; as of the Elements of Nature in natural Philosophy: yet in both these two last, greater knowledge hath come into the World by the improvement of the optick Science of late times, rendring, in effect, some things nearer, and others more large than the World wherein *Aristotle* lived, and many worthy Philosophers was acquainted with.

The rational faculty seems to be a power to compare the notions in the mind, and that to be an Act of the Soul from within. If the comparisson be rightly and fully made, it is called right reasoning; if but in part, and as yet no disagreement found, we say it is probable, because we find no difference, but do not conclude, because we have not made a thorough observation. If there be a disagreeing, we say it disagrees from reason. Again what we can well compare, we can well reason of, as we may of the Notions of things large and near; what we can compare but in part, we can make but a probable conjecture of, and what not at all, we cannot reason of.

Reasoning seems thus to be done; First the Soul applyes it self to, or fancies, or calls to mind a notion of a thing we know well, and then makes application to another notion of a thing not so well known, and after, comparing them, observes how near they are alike in quantity, figure, colour, noise, smell, taste, action, &c. and if we would perswade another man to be of our opinion, we usually goe some such way as this to work: First we affirm there is such a thing, which we think to him is very well known, and that there are such particulars about it, then we say the thing we would prove is the same with that in such a respect, upon comparing has such circumstances, and therefore, in that consideration, is the same thing: which seems likewise the foundation of Syllogismes and Logical Arguments. For exauple, by reasoning, we find

there is a Deity who orders and disposes all things in the world, for we thus argue. Concerning all the notions we have of things, we observe the figure and places of some, in a respect to others, have the marks of a Contriver, and there are them which have none: the first we say cannot be without design, the other come by chance, that is, without contrivance. Further, if we come to a Town, and find several things of certain figures in places, to an intended purpose, we conclude, and rightly, that they were contrived by the head, and acted by the hands of men; because in comparing it with what we have heretofore seen, we never yet did observe such things without contrivance, or made without hands; but if we see a heap of rubbish, we resolve it might be in that shape by chance, for so we have formerly taken notice such things have been. If we come to look into the admirable composition and figure of man, wherein, to a vast number of purposes, divers things are plac'd, and compare it with what we have seen and heard has been done by chance, or the power of men, or any other animate thing we converse with, we shall presently conclude they came neither by contingency, nor by the Art of any thing we have knowledge of, and therefore by some thing which we do not know, and give it the name of a Deity.

We fetch another Argument, to this purpose, from the nature of motion, for we say, every thing we converse with, has some cause to move it; and that nothing moves originally, where there is not a Soul or Spirit to stir it, and thence also, that the whole order of nature in motion proceeds from some Soul or Spirit, which we call likewise a Deity. But whether this be a single person, or there be more than one, we cannot find out by reason, because we have no particular and distinguishing notion of it, and so can make no comparison to this purpose, and thereupon must have recourse to revelation; and by Holy Writ we find, that there are three persons, yet but one God; which does not disagree from reason, for where is no defect in Judgement, nor violence of appetite, there may be no disagreeing in will. For the like reason we cannot discover the special place of residence, nor attributes of the Godhead; and therefore we do well when we say, that we know better what he is not, than what he is, or when less, and rest in admiration.

When

When the mind is moved from without to the Soul in any particular notion, if we are awake, we say it comes into the mind, if asleep, we call it a dream, and is without a motive force from the Soul, that is without our will, and with Man and Beasts is alike; As to call to mind, or to reason, seems peculiar to the rational Soul, and to be a motion from within. So little being known, is one cause there are so many Scepticks, Atheists, and variety of Philosophers. There may be a divine revelation different from the knowledge before mentioned; but it seldom comes, and is difficultly discovered, the world being full of Artifice and deceipt; but as we are capable enough to receive it, so doubtless God is powerfull sufficiently to infuse it.

If it be asked what becomes of the Soul after dissolution of the body, we must answer, we know not, that is, we can but conjecture probably; had we not a Revelation from holy writ that it enters a place of joy or torment, proportionably to the good or bad deeds acted in the time of its conjunction with the body: which neither does disagree from reason; for a being created may be continued, and what is from aternity may be to aternity: now if the Soul has a being when the body is dissolved, as it may, and probably ha's, it is then somewhere, and being capable of pain and pleasure before, it may be so on the dissolution.

Let us go a little further; we observe that some men who run an oblique course to the rule of reason, whom we call wicked men, are punish'd in this world in equal proportion to their offences, and others not; and again, they that walk regularly with great care and pains, are sometimes rewarded here below, but not alwayes (which ha's been a stone whereat many have frequently stumbled) Now if there be not rewards and punishments after this life, and there be also a God, he will then be unjust which is disagreeing to reason; for we see even men of reason, if they are not overpowred by their appetites or passions, do just and reasonable things, much more honourably ought we to think of the justice of Almighty God: And if there be no Deity, it will be incongruous to the general constitution of nature, and of the universal world which is regularly and justly framed: and thereupon we may infer there is a Heaven and Hell: that is as much as to say, that Souls after this life have pains and delights according to their merit in this world, unless

where the special mercy of God on penitential applications does lighten if not extinguish the afflictions.

Further, not much differing from the same purpose, it may be observ'd, that generally men of virtue, though for some time they may lye under scandals, and misery, yet for the greatest part of their years they prosper and are happy; but this is not alwayes so. And on the contrary, the wicked leading their lives according to their lusts, though they may have pleasing dayes, yet have they many more miserable; but it is not thus constantly. From hence it may be conjectur'd, that probably God Almighty hath usually rewards for the virtuous in this world, as we often phraise it, and punishments on vitious persons, to encourage the one, and discountenance the other; but not alwayes, to the intent they might not expect to set up their rest here, but conclude upon a being hereafter; and rewards and punishments according to the course of their lives.

What the mind is, which I call that part of man where the Notions are treasur'd up, is difficult to discover. This is observable, that Notions will decay, and wear out, as men of Age discover; and the mind it self seems to perish in certain diseases: from which a conclusion might be drawn, that it is of nature with the body, and little differing from that of other Animals, to the preservation of whom it is necessary, but must say we think there may be a faculty in the Soul to receive them.

3. **F**urther, as to man in general, from the extent of his appetite, in the particulars of his passions (that is to say) of lust to meat, drink, or venery, of anger, and the like, and from the degree of his capacity to reason, proceeds the different dispositions and tempers of mankind. These two roots are well express'd in the Poet *video meliora proboque*, which was the result of reason; *deteriora sequor*, which was the impulse from the passion of revenge prevailing in *Medea*; the Spirit is willing, but the Flesh is weak, saith the Scripture; and again there is a Law in our Members, warring against the Law of our minds.

These constitutions of men may be divided into many kinds with great difference; but I shall only take notice of some few particulars which make remarkable dispositions. If the appetite be violent, and the reason weak, it renders that man giddy, inconsiderate and dangerous: I speak not here of Fools or Madmen.

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If a heady passion meet with an indifferent judgement, it makes those who are the worst men of the world: they are alwayes making Disturbances, heading of Factions, laying of Plots; they have a smattering of knowledge, and so presume more than the foregoing sort; and their outside is for sometime fair; but by their Ambition, Coverousness, Lust, and other Violencies, destroy afterward all that they with tollerable and formal reason did before discourse of. They study the Infirmities of Princes, keep Factions alive to awe them with, and render themselves considerable; and commit a thousand absurdities in making out their Interests: If they are prefer'd to the employments of a Prince, by their vitious lives, they stain, and bring an evil report upon the best causes, and sometimes ruine a Commonwealth, their Sovereign, and many honest men that adhere to his just Authority: if they are not advanc'd, they are the leading malecontents of a Nation; and oft thrusting themselves into the head and disguise of wel-meaning men, lead such into errors before they are well aware of what these are within their bosomes. Of this kind was *Cesar Borgia Machiavells* Prince, who never staid at any Villany in order to the execution of his project, and in the end fail'd of all.

Those that have the most extended appetites, but strongest reason, undertake great matters, and oft perform them to admiration, but not without many Violencies, and much Injustice, by the prædominancy of their passions: such was *Julius Cesar*, and *Alexander* the great.

If the propensity be in the lowest extent, and meet with a judgement of the like low degree of capacity, the men with whom it is so, are generally free from offence, because of the weakness of their appetites, and foolish for want of judgement, they are the Innocent soft men of the world. Of these it is meant when it is commonly said *probitas laudatur & alget*, plain dealing is good, but he that useth it shall die a Beggar. And for want of distinction, Proverbial Sayings of this nature, are sometimes the occasion of staggering in the progresses of virtue.

If the propensity be weak, and the rational faculty indifferent, such are the honest and good men of the world, in a general report.

But if the provocations of nature are slow, and the judgement exceeding good, which is very rare (for God Almighty

for the most part puts a quick reason where there are strong passions) then those are the best men, some whereof have been called the Heroes of the World; and others, by the old Heathens Canonized for Gods: And of this sort in later times was *Epaminondas* among the *Thebans*, and *Scipio Africanus* among the *Romans*; before whom the World would not have been able to stand, had they been Sovereign Princes of any considerable Country: In adverse fortune and in prosperity they are of equal temper, content and glory. The sorting of these people make diversities of factions and Religions; of whom one which is the last, is only safe for any Government to espouse.

But we must not conclude these observations without an exception, where education has been as it was in *Alexander* under *Aristotle* a great Philosopher, which had great influence on him; for during the strength thereof, he lived virtuously, and with great renown; but after that began to wear out, and the force of Nature to return and prevail; the glory of his former life was shaded by his looseness and debauchery. And the saying of another great Philosopher to his Scholars, laughing at a Physiognomer, who declared him by the outward view a vicious person, is not to be forgotten; *So I am, says he, by Nature, but I have made a Conquest by Philosophy.*

4. IN the next place we will consider the actions of Men, now Law is the rule by which such, or any other beings are governable.

The Law of Nations is what is generally practised among Neighbour Countries, and has chiefly concernment in War and Peace. If it be universally used, it is said to be the Law of Nations through the whole world, as we often call it, and ought not to vary from the Law of God, which is the Law of Reason: If they be made by Man, we call them humane Laws, from the Author: If they concern the constitution of the government of a Nation, they are called Fundamental, otherwise not. With us in *England*, those that relate to private Corporations, or Places, or Persons in some particular considerations, are named Privileges, because they are private Laws: such which have respect to all in general, because they are common to all, are called the common Law; if they be made by Act of Parliament, they may concern either Privileged men

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or Places in particular, or the Community in general, having an extensive power over all, and goe by the name of Statutes.

The Laws of Nature, I take it, though some think otherwise, is that Rule whereby all things in the World which have not reason, or want the use of it, have their actions governed; and is solely managed by the Providence of God; and may be said a necessity; so the motion of the Stars, the actions of Birds and Beasts, and other Brute Animals are directed.

By the Law of Nature all Animals follow and observe their Appetites, and to the preservation of themselves, eat what is proper food for them, where they can get it, and take from, and feed on one another as Birds and Beasts of prey; and this by necessity, for without that, many could not live, and God has design'd it for a good end; for otherwise some kinds would increase to an unfitting proportion for the Earth to sustain: and what is done by this Law, is no sin, in respect of the necessity. Among the old, and some new Philosophers, there are those, who being too intent hereon, have held a fate in all things, and certain Christians a too strict predestination.

Were it not indeed for the special Providence of God Almighty, that rational Souls have some freedom of will, and that the whole World will not be found in the same state it now is, at such time as the position of the Heavens will be thus again hereafter; perhaps it might not be absurd to think of Platonick years; but those things will alter the Scene.

By the special Providence of God, I understand his extraordinary works, which are rare, and do therefore argue the excellency of the Artist, who has made a noble Engine with so much various curiosity as the World is; and yet for many thousands of years it needs no correction or amendment that we can discover. But we cannot otherways suppose then that some men draw absurd consequences of Atheism herefrom; supposing there is no Deity, because we have not converse therewith in special manner.

The Law of Reason, which is sometimes called the Law Moral, I understand, that by which animate things rational ought to be governed, and is also the Law of God, because God directs it. We call it the Law of reason, because we find it out by reasoning; and consists chiefly of two parts, in respect of a double relation, the one toward God, the other Man.

That Law likewise which is revealed in Scripture, is called the Law of God, for the above mentioned cause, and of the Law of reason, is rather an explanation, than any wayes different, and seems ill interpreted where it dissents.

The Will is an Inclination of the Soul to do a thing; It is sometimes disposed by the body from it's passions, and at other times by the results of reason, and very rarely is a Will without a Motion from the one, or an Inclination from the other. As either predominates, so the Soul does generally Will, unless the special direction of Almighty God, or a spontaneous Motion does vary it. Some likewise will urge a fatal necessity, having their minds chiefly intent upon the last result of reason, as others taking notice both of that; and the impulse of nature; but the Will, though it is rarely known to act freely, yet one would think it might by this Instance. Put the case the Appetite do dispose a man to a vitious house, his Reasoning to more sober and convenient affairs; yet it seems not improbable he may Will, and in some cases do an act distinct from, and not mov'd by either. Many disputes concerning the freedome of the Will, have been the subject of great controversie in Philosophy, and Professors of Religion have brought it into question in Divinity, delighting rather in such vain altercations, than to observe and promote the substance of Gods worship, in which the world does generally agree.

Without reason it seems there could be no Sin, as there is not in irrational Animals, nor likewise virtue, for they both proceed from the comparing or reasoning faculty of the Soul of man. Hereupon it follows, that to be chaste by a disposition of body, or to be temperate in Meat, Drink, or Venery, on the the same cause is not a virtue. To be valiant upon the warmth of wine, or by the natural heat of the brain, a wearisomeness of the world, upon greater skill in a weapon than another, upon strength of body, a brutish nature, or an absurd fear of being accounted Cowards if they refuse to put their lives upon the chance of a Die, as many do with unmanly weapons, is not true Valour, nor oft accompanied with the courage of Nature, nor practised in well govern'd Commonwealths, or amongst the truly Valiant and Victorious sort of people; and is at this day in greater esteem no where, than amongst the most effeminate Men and Nations. Neither is it a virtue to be just and tempe-
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temperate; when the design is to purposes of ambition; but then are men said to do an act of virtue, when they have respect alone to the command of Almighty God, either revealed; or found out by reason.

Hereupon likewise we do count Children, Fools, Madmen, and such as are of non sane memory by Sicknefs or Age, exempt from the Law of God, which is of reason, and generally through the whole world in humane Laws, they are not punished no more than Beasts when they do mischief, because for the time they are deprived of their reason, they are in like condition with other Animals.

If a man in a capacity to reason, do not reason aright, this seems no sin in him, nor if he acts according to his reason; for no man can be expected but that he should do according as he judges. But if a man shall reason aright, and not do accordingly, to him it is sin, and again to reason aright, and act from thence is a virtue, to reason wrong, and from thence do wrong, may be called a good meaning; or to reason wrong, and do differently, may be said an ill meaning; but enquire whether they be virtuous or sinful actions.

It follows further, that to punish men barely for their opinions, is unjust and unreasonable; but if they endeavour to divulge them (though they are conceived that so they ought to do) if that may prove mischievous to a Commonwealth, they are to be restrained notwithstanding; as one ought to take a sword out of a Madmans hand, or as he that is infected with the Plague, ought not to be punished for having a Disease, yet if he will go abroad to endanger others, the Laws of this Land do reasonably justify the punishing of him, even in some cases to death, upon this ground chiefly to prevent danger in others; and they that pretend an opinion, but are not thereof perswaded, designing under that colour to disturb a Nation, and raise advantages to themselves, ought to have inflicted on them heavy penalties.

Furthermore, seeing by reason we find out that there is a God, by the like reason we are taught we ought not to speak or act irreverently concerning him; or to set up any feigned God-head against, or equal with him; seeing he made the world, and continues it in a wonderful order; in case of evil, or mischief happened or impending, he is, we may conclude, most able to

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relieve us. Hereupon it follows that we ought to desire help of him, reason tells us he will succour us the rather, for so doing, and that we ought to be humbly thankfull for what mercies he shews, which is our duty toward God.

Come we then to what we owe toward Man. By the Law of Nature we do suppose that every man may have a right to every thing, but by the Law of reason no more than an equal right to all things: in the first case man may have what he can get, which is the state common to other Animals; and in the second, there ought to be an equal division in convenient proportions, which is peculiar to rational creatures, and having been made, we ought to be content with our parts, and not either by strong hand, or cunning circumventions, take from our Neighbours their shares.

In some sort also we have a duty toward other Animate Creatures; for by the Law of Nature we may make use of them, but to afflict them, especially when we have no benefit thereby, as it is not agreeing with reason, but against it, so is it abominable even to the nature of man.

5. **A** Nother faculty of the Soul, is to be delighted, and pained, if they be not divers. The things which cause the first, are called good, and on the contrary, those that occasion the other, evil, and in the abstract good and evil, and according to their degrees are they said to be more or less so. Now if the question be asked what is the chiefest good, before we answer, we must distinguish and say, if it be meant of the Original cause, doubtless God Almighty; if it be spoken to the means as to our own furtherance, we may reply, a virtuous life; if to the thing it self, the greatest pleasure is that which is largest in extent, duration, and freedom from evil, and is the center of our designs, and end of our labours.

But let our endeavours be never so capacious, without a special providence of Almighty God, Virtue can rarely, if at all, make a happy man in this world, when fortune is wanting, which is the state of a thing without design: and of all contingencies, that is most conducive, when one lives amongst a happy people: for an unfortunate Nation, like the rapid motion of the eighth Sphere, spoken of by some Philosophers, forceth against their proper motion all Inferiour Orbes to a confusion of them,

them, and a necessary yielding to that first great Circle. And a happy Country does much improve the Fruits of a virtuous life, to all that live therein.

6. **T**Hat then in the concerns of a mans life, having so great a share, in the next place let us enquire thereof. The strength and happiness of a Nation, seems chiefly to consist in these things: that they have a good Government; that the people be many in number, and that they be conveniently provided of all necessaries.

The Gracians having their eye especially upon the chief men that governed the several Commonwealths in their Country, which was divided into many; and observing some were directed by one man principally, others by many of better sort, (that is to say) by the richer; and some by the people generally; did call the first kind a Monarchy, the second an Aristocrasie, the third a Democrasie, for the reasons expressed particularly in the derivation of their several names; and those denominations have been brought through the Romane Conquests to us at this day. But this seeming to be too general, there are them who do say, that there be also mixt Governments.

The way of division we will chuse, shall be this; All Governments are either of an absolute Monarchy, an absolute Republique, where the Authority is divided, or mixt. By an absolute Monarchical Government, I mean, (and as I take it, it is the general acception of the word) such as where the Legislative power, and the Executive, is Capitally or Originally all in one person, without assent of others; for if one man make Laws, and then Execute them; or Govern by the dictate of his own Will, or without Law, it seems not different in nature; and every Officer of inferiour degree, in some sense, may be said to be a Legislator. By an absolute Republique, where a major voice (which must be from three at least, and may be to any number more) has the Legislative and Executive power. By a divided Government, when the Legislative is in the one entirely, and the Executive in the other. By a mixt, when part of either, or of both, is in the one, and the rest in the other.

An absolute Monarchical Government, seems not so good for the Prince, nor the people; because every one cannot well

execute the Legislative power at the last resort, in respect he may want Judgement or regular affections: if he be himself, or leave his Successor of corrupt nature, it does not oft fall out, that his Kingdom or his Life is not taken from him; for if he be vitious, which Sycophants will not only sooth him in, but promote: and men are generally enclin'd to those most, who cover their infirmities: having such authority, he will hardly refrain that which men account their properties; and the abused to be revenged, and others, upon apprehensions, to secure themselves, will be apt to joyn in conspiracy. If he want judgement, designing men of greater wit will undermine and subvert him: All Ages are full of stories of this kind, and from so great a Latitude of power in one person abused; the word Tyrant, which at first did bear the honourable name of a King, grew at last to import an Oppressor. *Thales of Greece* being asked on his return from certain Travails which he had made, what was the strangest sight he had seen in them, made this answer, *A Tyrant that had lived long.*

But it must not be denied when an absolute Monarch proves a wise Prince that is judicious and moderate in his passions, he many times does admirable things, and settles such Laws and Customs as continue some discents, which seems an objection to what is before mentioned, and has been heretofore observed by others; but for the former reasons, and that an excellent Prince may perform more renowned actions in another kind of Government, it seems not to deserve the preference.

Neither is an absolute Republique good, because it cannot well perform the Executive part in the first of the source; for it must be done by one mind in respect of contrivance, secrecie, resolution and expedition, in which they generally have defect. It follows then in the third place, that if many men manage the executive part, or one man without consent, the Legislative, or any part of each, it cannot always so well be done, for the reasons before; but if the Legislative be executed by one upon the assent of many, and the Executive by one alone; that this is the best Government, and by experience I think it has been found to have endured longer, and with more advantages than any other. But we may say of Governments as is said of the Elements, that they are rarely found unwoven with one another, and that they take their names from the most predominate.

But

But because some have doubted of this, and we would willingly endeavour to give a reason of the known Laws of *England*, let us enter more particularly into the bosom of this subject. We are to remember that, as was said before, every man by the Law of Reason has an equal right to every thing, (from which single consideration in a sort of people with us lately in *England*, did proceed the Levelling humour) But because some things are not possibly to be divided, in respect of their nature amongst Mankind, as the Air we breath; and others cannot be so well used in common, as Meat, Drink and Clothing; it follows that in reason there ought to be a division of these, and that those remain entire; for in all Societies where Community is pretended, at last they come to property when the Meat and Drink and Clothing is distributed.

If it be asked in what proportion those things which may be divided, are to be distributed, reason tells us according to every mans necessity. If by what Rule or Law, for a Rule and Law is all one, doubtless by the Law of God, which is found out by reason, and thereto agreeable.

If who shall declare what the Law of Reason is; one man alone may erre, but with assent of others, he is less lyable: a multitude have in them more oft the voice of Nature, *Vox Populi Vox Dei* in many cases is the more true. Hereupon, though one man alone may be good, yet with assent of a Parliament, as it is constituted with us in *England*, of all sorts of people, from all places, is surely generally better to such a purpose.

The last long Parliament one would think is an objection, thence many extravagant enormities fell out. Though they cannot possibly be excus'd, yet this may be said for them; A Parliament may be in the wrong until better consideration, and to them at sometimes it was the more excusable, thence they had many voluntary and necessary exclusions; and we cannot tell what they would have done, when the heat which provok't them by the general noise of grievances blown up by factious men beyond a just report, had been a little slack't upon second thoughts, if there had been no purgations. I suspend my own thoughts, and choose rather to report the opinion of our late most pious and judicious Prince King *Charles* the First, and in his own words, which are these to his Son our present So-

veraign. Nor would I have you to entertain any aversation or dislike of Parliaments, which in their right constitution with freedom and honour will never injure or diminish your greatness, but will rather be as interchangings of Love, Loyalty, and confidence between a Prince and his People. Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (however much biased by factious inlections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions, the sad effects of which will no doubt make all Parliaments, after this, more cautious to preserve that freedom and honour which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the publique interest consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People. Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave and honourable ways to contribute their counsels in common, enacting all things by publique consent, without Tyranny or Tumults, we must not starve our selves because some men have surfeited on wholsom food.

The inconstancy of the Vulgar, noised in all Stories, is another objection. We must here again distinguish: If the Vulgar, I mean the common voice of men take upon them to judge of a person, they are oft mistaken, for they do it by the appearance only; and Men upon designs, affecting popularity, put on Masques and Disguises, which is the ground of Vulgar error in these things; but if they take upon them to judge of what is reasonable, the common voice has generally less error than that of particular men. When a man appears virtuous, they commend him; and when vitious, they decry him: so then the wavering proceeds not from the people, who are constant always to the commendations of virtue, but from the subject, who changes the course of his actions, and is himself variable in this life, or at least has a different outward shape.

Now as a good Goveenment may justly challenge the preheminance of the three necessaries before mentioned, so good Laws may bear the greatest reputation therein. They will Execute themselves, and the Executive part is usually most defective. Laws dispose men in their natures to good, or bad; are the causes of felicity or misery according as they are made, and alter the very form of mens manners.

The Romans excelled herein, which I count was the principal foundation and durance of their Victories and Prosperities.

ties. *Suetonius* takes notice that *Cæsar* did especially observe the strength of body in the choice of his Souldiers, depending doubtless on the Roman Discipline (which was a branch of their Law) to encline their minds to Valour, and conduct. *Alexander*, being in this particular not altogether so happy, did chiefly insist upon a good election, in respect of Judgement, regular Affections, and Experience.

Being upon the point of Laws, let it not be thought amiss to mention these few observations. In a Commonwealth there ought not to be too many Laws, because they cannot then be well remembred by them to whom they are a Rule, nor those who are to Judge by them. The Penalties ought to be equal to the Offence; if they be too little, it renders the Law frivolous, as are many of our Antient Penal Statutes; by the rise of the value of money in these later Ages, by the pleasure of our Kings; but more considerably by the fall of the value of Silver, occasioned by the plenty of it from the Western World, not long since discovered: and some made of late are rendred useles upon a like reason. They are not to be too great, because of the Infirmities of Mankind; but an error of this last nature is on the right hand.

A just Action, is what is done by a Rule or Law, and Justice by way of excellency, is that which is done by the Rule or Law of Reason. Now the determination of controversies, which is a doing of Justice, ought to be near the residence of the parties, and with small, if any charge, to the concerned persons, but what is voluntary; otherwise it will become a burden to the greater number, and intollerable to the poorer sort, and in cases of a small value, to all.

The common objection that the Law brought into the Country, would make it differ in many places, is idle; sithence by experience in the Sessions of Justices of the Peace, and Courts of Record, in Corporations through all *England* we find the contrary.

To pass on when the Laws are made, who shall compare the actions of men with these Rules or Laws, that is, shall be Judge of the breaches and observances of them. Many cannot well perform this part in a common course, because there may be wanting a resolution: one may be of opinion, by a certain fact, such a Law, or a branch thereof, is transgress'd, another not, a

third may differ from both ; for the same fact may be thought Murder by one , Manslaughter by another, and *Se defendendo* by a third : so to prevent a delay in Justice, it is generally well committed to a single person , who may appoint substitutes with an appeal to himself.

If the Laws are well made , and Judgement regularly given ; yet without a Coercive power Men will not obey them : the placing thereof ought not to be in a major voice , because they may be of so many several minds ; and consequently by delay , and want of resolution , Justice may be imperfect : two have the same unaptness ; therefore it is well repositied in the hands of a single person. Thus in *England* , the foundation of Judicature and power is in the King , and did appear more perspicuously heretofore , when they sate usually on one of the Benches , and are both well plac'd in the same person , seeing no one of either can be so well executed alone ; it is called with us the Executive power, as his other with the prævious assent of the Lords and Commons the Legislative.

If inquiry be whether he ought to be elected , we answer no , for these reasons : A major voice in the choosers may not be ; because many men may be of various minds , and think of several persons , and the common good thereby neglected , as is oft seen , for want of a Governour ; if we say by Lot , the nominations may be so large , and chance so great ; to which may be added in both , corruptions by Money , and other juggling devices , that men of worth are not like to be chosen , as is of frequent experience ; and when an election is made , the Elected's natural affections to himself and Family will make a different Center to the interest of the publique.

The next question may be , whom , and out of what Family ; that also must be determined by the Law of God , which is of Reason , or of Nature. The first cannot do it , because God Almighty having made all Families equal , no reason can be given why one simply considered in it self , should be prefer'd before another : which consideration taken alone has caused much mischief in the World : But we must hasten off , and not stay here. Let us then have recourse to the other branch of the Law of God , which is the Law of Nature ; and there possession gives a Title. So then , that Man or Family which has got possession of the Crown , has a good title by the Law of God ;
and

and Reason tells us, the elder possession is to be preferred before the younger, to prevent Contention, which is the Nurse of War, and consequently a destruction to Mankind: and if any should now set on foot a supposed elder than the now King of *Englands*; a long and peaceable possession is to be preferred before a more antient pretence; fithence that is well known, and this can be but guess'd at, time having worn out a certain knowledge.

It follows one would think, that he which has possession of the Crown may dispose it to whom he will; and so he might by the Law of Nature; but the Law of Reason comes now in again, and tells us that *Salus Populi is Suprema Lex*: therefore seeing the discovery of his mind in many cases, especially near his death, when his reason and senses decay; some interpreting it one way, others in a different manner, would be difficult to know which would destroy the people by division, designing men being subject likewise to suborn witnesses; and use other arts to deceive: Thereupon it follows, that such a one ought to be his Successor, whom we may reasonably think Parents would generally mean, and that is one of his own Children, which is also agreeable to nature, and of them the eldest, as being at the greatest exercise of reason. The Love of a man enclines generally most to himself, in a second degree to his Children, and then to his Brothers and Sisters: so the Princes Children are to be preferred before his other Relations. By this means the interest of the People is incorporated with that of the Crown, as it is (God be blessed) with us in *England*: and thereby the natural motions of a King, in favour to himself, his Children and Family, tend of necessity to the good of his Subjects; and Matrimony is a good determiner of which are his; being a publique act.

The principal objections against an Hereditary Monarchy are these: The Prince may be foolish, of non sane memory, a Child, he may dote, or be vitious: all which may happen to any single person elected; though it be rare that a Child is chosen: and often it falls out, that the worst men are in the best disguises. But to answer, If there be good Laws made (which are an essential part to the happiness of a Nation) he can commit no general and considerable injury without Agents, who ought to be subject to the Law, the dread whereof will terrifie

them: Good men will be advising him, his near Relations, for the Love of him, and their Family will perswade much, Protectors or Guardians, may be to them in some of the particular cases before mentioned.

This we may be sure of by experience, that in all Elections, men generally of the best tempers are not chosen, they are usually but of the middle rank, and so is alwayes a race of Kings at worst; for as there may be one extreemly bad, there may be another in diseent as greatly good, so that though at periods there may be difference, yet take the line from first to last, it is of the common nature of mankind, which we the rather ought to be content with, because in a train of Elections this is the best was ever found, and but rarely too, that they were of the general disposition of humane nature, and this the disadvantage, that the consideration of his Family, which must after return to a private life, will incline him to such corruptions as there was alwayes, yet found men to prompt them to, as also their Electors.

But to conclude this, God Almighty seems to have left somewhat defective herein, as in many other cases, to the intent there may be an invitation and necessity on humane nature to seek after him, and implore his special providence for a virtuous Prince, and acknowledge it with humble gratitude, when we are blest with such a one. For this kind of Government, appears in the Records of time, most practicable, durable, and of fewest deficiencies; whereas other kinds, especially absolute Commonwealths, if there were any purely such, have been so rarely fortunate, that they look like Anomola's of nature.

The Coercive power may be divided into two parts, arising from the two wayes by which a Nation is governed, by perswasion, or compulsion, and are called the Ecclesiastical and Civil: both which are united in our Sovereign; and being divided in some other Countries by their clashings, are oft times of very fatal consequence; the Churchmen perswading one way, and the Civil Magistrate compelling another.

Neither of those two can be well managed without rewards, as well as punishments: rewards are either in opinion as honours, of which the King with us is the fountain, or such real good of the world, as men have need of, or affect, and in abstract, answering all things, is money.

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Because there will be a perpetual want, there ought to be a constant Revenue sufficient for the common and usual defence of the people against Invaders, and Rebels, and upon extraordinary occasions, a supplemental ayd by consent in Parliament; for it is truly reported that money is the Sinews of Warr, and I may add also, of Peace.

Hereupon it follows, that such who abuse a Prince in his Revenue, do weaken his power according to the proportion of the wrong, and consequently the security of the whole, and of all mischiefs that can be done to a King or his Country; this is one of the greatest imaginable, because it destroys even the foundation of his power; and for the same reason the Laws ought to be very penal in this particular.

To keep the Subjects in obedience will require the assistance of many Civil Officers, which in respect of command ought to be subordinate to one another, according to such Rules as would be here tedious to mention.

What kind of men should be employed is easie to apprehend, No man doubts sure but they ought to be of reason and regularity of life, the fate and consequence of employing such as are of arrogant, but weak judgements; and especially of violent and exorbitant passions, of lust, ambition, covetousness, cruelty; are negligent and idle; have caused many tragical Issues to those Princes who have made use of them: they generally study industriously the nature of their Sovereign; and having well understood that, in order to their designs, attempt such things as will not abide the Touchstone of the Law, in presumption upon his favour, then distrusting his affections may waver, they seek to secure themselves on their own bottom: Now the foundation of power, as was before mentioned, consists in money: Hereupon they endeavour to amass vast sums together, whereby to fortifie themselves; but this they conclude will not suffice, unless they suppress the power even of the Prince himself, and all meritorious persons: the ways they take to the first purpose are generally these; they humour him in his vices if he have any that will raise an Odium, and so loose him among the people; they weaken him in his Revenue, by countenancing publique frauds, wherein they have oft times a share; in his Authority, by fomenting factions in Church and State, and when they have come to the utmost of their

power, they dare even him to do any thing contrary to their own humour; but on the other side, the truest States-men are those, who study the interest of their King and Country, are Honest and Judicious, and of profound Counsell in Warr and Peace.

The duty of Subjects is not well understood till it be well considered, so not by Children and younger people, nor by them who have a defect in judgement, that are taken up with the cares of the world, and other imployments which possess their minds: hereupon it is agreeable to reason, that some should be set apart from other affairs, of the best judgements, to instruct the people in their duties, and perswade them to it, and of good life to lead them by example, because it is of great pains and time to understand what is fitting to be done, they ought to have no considerable other employment, to the intent they may thoroughly mind that: but they may mistake, therefore it is convenient they should have certain Articles of Doctrine, from which they may not vary in their instructions, which ought to be honest, and according to reason; for such which have other foundations, make it doubtfull, and oft times produce dangerous consequences from credulous Churchmen. Because they are to be sequestred from private trade and gains, it is fit they should be publicly maintained; and to the end they might be free from teaching to please the people, they ought to be independent on their Parish in their maintenance. If it be thought Homilies may serve this turn, it ought to be consider'd, and may be well replied, that they cannot be made so proper for every particular Congregation, and occasion; nor are they so naturally and forcibly pronounced, as the Words and Notions which are of a mans own conception, though those may be good also in their kind.

For publique mercies received, reason tells us it is fit there should be publique acknowledgement of gratitude, and to procure general blessings, general applications, and that such men who best should know the value of them, which are they before mentioned, are the most proper for these Sacrifices. Further, they ought to be subordinate to the Prince, for the reasons before mentioned, and to one another, for the more expeditious conveying of orders, and inspecting the people and inferiour Clergie, by a distribution of that nature which is agreeable

able to right reason, and so to the Law of God, and of consequence by Divine right; but (God knows) such is the unhappiness of mankind, that if a man looks through the world in divers Ages, he may see too many have been chosen by favour, some in respect of interest, by money, because they will serve for little, and others, because being of ill lives themselves, they will the rather pass by reprehension of those persons who promote them: and for this very reason, the personal vices of the Clergie, by men that do not distinguish the office from the person, does endanger oft times the very order of Hierarchie; for such as these, wanting the substance of their calling, which is good Preaching, and a Regular life, set up the formal and ceremonious part of Religion, insinuating it for the substance, the better to blind and cover their own vicious lives, and so create many Hereticks, and Atheists; the first hunting for Truth in some other or new Religion, because they find notorious error in that they are taught; and the other suspecting all, because they perceive deceipts in some part of it.

To conclude this, in memory to our Mother the Church of England; whose constitution is agreeable to what is before mentioned of this nature; it may be said she was a branch cut off from the body of the Romane Tree in the time of Henry the 8th. and engrafted into the Royal Stock in the days of Queen Elizabeth of famous memory, and has flourish'd therein ever since (a late Chasme excepted) with this Immortal Glory; that wheteas other Churches have generally occasioned frequent disturbances to the Countries where they have been nourished, and some bloody and dreadfull: this (seeming to have the peculiar mark of being Gods own) has never yet been the cause of any the least disquietness to us, since the very first Reformation, and at this hour, none appear to be proceeding from it, much less impending.

If the Prince ought to have a considerable power to compel and perswade the Subjects, it follows then that they ought to have but little to resist him in the one or other, let the pretences be never so gawdy.

Further, the Laws must have a time wherein to be declared, and we see, after many Ages, some are wanting still; so then a question may arise, by what Rule a Prince is to Govern when there is a deficiency; we say by the Law of Conscience and

Reason, and necessarily it must be left to the declarations of his own bosome, in cases that require expedition, and thus it is in England; for Equity in it self, is the Law of God agreeing to reason, and that which is in practice, is Gods, interpreted from the Princes breast, or from such whom he does intrust with his Conscience: so our bills in Chancery do conclude that they pray Equitie, because the Law has not provided an apt remedy, or to that purpose; and upon the same reason, the King in some cases suspends the Law it self, as in Frauds, and Penal Bonds, and Estates upon Condition forfeited, because the Law of England at present made, is herein defective, and comes not up fully to the Law of God; and in all cases of evil, it is said the King cannot licent *malum in se*, but he may *malum prohibitum*, though he can pardon either committed.

Again, the first possession of a man, is a good Title by the Law of Nature, until an elder, or the Law of Reason (which with mankind is to have a preference) otherwayes disposes it, as is done in Taxes, and severall other things; and all this, with much more, which for brevities sake I purposely omit, is either founded on the Law of Nature or Reason, as is said in our books of Law the Law of England is.

Thus much of the Government.

7. **C**OME we now to the number of men requisite in a happy Commonwealth. It is necessary they should be many, and cannot be too great, if the proportion of provisions be not too little; for though few men, well governed with necessities convenient, may do, and heretofore have acted miraculous things; yet a greater number equally disciplin'd, and of like provision, shall do more considerable and wonderfull things in tract of time: perhaps upon a contingent accident not well understood from whence it came; Fortune may now and then put an Argument to the contrary.

To come to some Instances, which may serve as Arguments; *Xenophon* with a few men made a Retreat that has been of great glory to him through all times, even to this day, passing many vast Countries against a prodigious number of men; but then there was this in it. First his Souldiers were provided with good Pikes, a sort of Arms of the best use against Horse in a Champion Country, of which the Enemy consisted chiefly, and in

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enclosures they could do no considerable harm to Foot, which was an accident of Fortune. Then the General of the *Persians*, in expectation of out-witting them by political contrivances, trifled out the time of burning the Country in their march, till they were so near the Confines, that they had sufficient maintenance for retreat out of their Dominions; after which they met with no considerable Nations, and for the most part, if not always, with tumultuary forces, these being generally surprized.

Cæsar with small forces, being well disciplined and provided, destroyed a great number of *Helvetians* in his Wars of *Gallia*, who had no good Discipline or Arms; but when he came to meet a greater number than his own forces, at least equally furnish'd with necessaries, and almost as good Discipline, he sustain'd the loss at *Dyrachium*, where if it had been well followed, a period had been set to his glories. But in the end, he overcame *Pompey* by the advantage of his cunning, in mixing certain cohorts of Foot with his Horse, and then meeting the confident precipitancy of the ungovernable Nobility of *Rome*, against whom he fought. *Cæsar* in *Spain* after, meeting with many Romans of Discipline and Provision somewhat like his own Army, under *Pompey's* Sons, he profess'd he then fought for his life, whereas heretofore he had contended for honour.

Bajazet the *Turkish* Emperour, with a great Army, excellent Discipline, and well provided, made considerable Conquests; but when *Tamberlaine* with an Army greater, and Discipline and necessaries at least equal, he was not long before he did engage him.

Scanderbegge did singular exploits with a few choice men; but it is observable he found the inconvenience of a small Territory, as *Epirus* was, and in the cloze of his years, made it his principal care to fortifie himself with alliances, by way of Supply to that deficiency.

We must not deny, that where the numbers are great, without good Discipline and stores, it breeds confusion, and hastens destruction: as on the other hand, an Army or Countrie never did exceed in number such a proportion as was beyond the capacity of good Discipline; many great Monarchies of the World, and the March of *Tamberlaine* in exact order, are manifest examples and arguments.

8. **P**ROVISIONS are the next thing necessary to make a flourishing Nation; they are such as these, plenty of Flesh, and Corn, Iron, Brasse, Wood for Fuel, Ship-sides and Masts, Hemp, Pitch, Tarr, the materials of Powder; if they are not all produceable from the ground, that they be not farr off, and that there be conveniency of Carriage for them, the chief whereof is Water. Hence it is, that all great Governments have had their Capital Seats in Plentifull Countries which are well stored with convenient Provisions, and for what they want, have the benefit of water for quick and easie Carriage.

The *Romans* were seated on a rich Soyle, and not far from the Mediterranean, and the Neighbouring Seas, places of the most convenient Navigation in this part of the World, at those times, in respect of the extent thereof and quietness, the Mariners Compass not being then invented. The *Eastern Empire* upon the same; the *Turkish* at this day, before them the *Agyptian* and *Carthaginian*, and few, if any, great Towns of note, are not upon or near good Rivers, or the Sea itself. It is observable, the ground the *Romans* conquered, was chiefly upon the skirts of those Seas through which they could the more commodiously send and receive supplies, and the Emperours were forc'd to withdraw first from the places most remote from the Seas.

Since the invention of the Mariners Needle, there are other more commodious for Navigation, and a more proper seat than that is where the Winds and Tides are more stirring, since Seamen by the benefit of the Compass, can guide themselves in the day without the sight of the Sun or Land-marks, and in the Night without benefit of Stars or Fire, unless at some special places and times.

9. **I**F the People have a good government, are many in number, and well provided; yet (especially till there are good constitutions of Laws) if there be not a good election among the Officers, those advantages for such time will be rendered the less significant.

We shall find the same Nation sometime victorious, and the World trembling under them; and one would think at first sight it proceeded from the nature of the people, and in the turn of a hand, upon the alteration of a Prince, or his affections,

ome, grow degenerate and effeminate; the Government, People and Stores fill the same; and *converso*, a sluggish People, after a time victorious. Now seeing Princes act chiefly by their Ministers and Officers, and that they have to do generally with all their Neighbours; for otherwise it might arise from the condition of some without, it cannot arise from any other more considerable cause, than the want of good choice. In the one, Men of Virtue appear uppermost, who give an universal reputation to their Country; in the other, these by degrees are thrust down, and such show themselves, who in the management of business, bring an ignominious report upon the whole Nation. *Edward the third*, in his first time, and *Henry the fifth of England*, in his last, our Chronicles make honourable mention of, with great admiration of their Valour and Conquests in *France*, and our happiness then at home; and with as great sorrow and reflections on their other times, and on both their Successors.

But if men of virtue are chosen, who are the spirit and life of a Commonwealth; yet we see Fortune now and then will be showing herself; but not oft, and so we may the better bear her insolencies. But against the apprehensions of men, God Almighty will, and does those things oft times by his extraordinary providence, that seem to differ not only from the course of nature, but of reason; who of his mercy by devout applications, may notwithstanding be appeased.

At this day, in this part of the World, it may be there is not any Nation so near compleat, in many of the former particulars, as this of *England*. If we compare it with the Low Countries, the Crown of *England* has more Men, more Provisions of some sort of its Native production; and may have as many of any other; better seated, the Country of a larger extent; add to this, that here cannot easily be diversions by a Land Invasion.

As to their Government, since it has much of a republicque, were it not that they fix their thoughts without upon fear of danger, the cement of republicques, it is likely they would divide, and settle on one another the usual fate of such governments, as it fell out to *Rome*, in the dayes of *Scylla*, *Marius*, *Cesar*, &c. for having overcome a great part of the World,

and amongst the rest the *Carthaginians*, a powerfull Neighbour, they fell to Civil Wars, as was foretold by a Senator, and thereupon were advised not utterly to destroy, but to leave this Government as an awe upon their State, to prevent divisions at home. War abroad, is the Interest of Republicks; the Low Countries, to the wonder of Queen *Elizabeth* Joyes, thriving like Salamanders in the fire of contention.

If we compare the King of *England* with the French, it is obvious; they have neither so convenient Ports, nor are so well seated, we lying betwixt them and the North, where the greatest stores are for Naval employments; add to this, that the form of their government and nature of the people indisposes them to business on the Seas; Take this out of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, as *Poplynne* well observeth: *The Forces of Princes by Sea are marks of the greatness of an Estate; for whosoever commands the Sea, commands the Trade; whosoever commands the Trade of the World, commands the Riches of the World, and consequently the world it self.*

If with any other, this being an Island in the midst of Trade, betwixt the North and South, East and West, a temperate Climate upon the great waters of the World; especially since relief may be received and sent with more certainty upon the invention of the Needle, has manifest advantage.

Some men in certain Nations it must be confessed, out of covetousness, have in certain times abused the publique Revenue, as did the Officers of the Greek Emperour *Constantine*, when *Mahomet* besieged *Constantinople*; Others out of envy to the glory of great and virtuous Commanders, have puzzled business, and obstructed necessities, as *Hanno* did to *Hannibal* in the course of his Victories against the Romans in *Italy*; Others have been traiterous, as was *Bessus* to *Darius* his Master, in the time that *Alexander* invaded him. And it did fall out to that *Hanno*, the Ball was after told upon *African* ground, and consumed the envious obstructer, his Family and Country: to the Emperour, who having try'd below his Imperial Dignity, to ask money at the Doors of his Citizens, for the necessary defence of him and them, through a perverse and obstinate discontent at the former abuses, though they had plenty within them, that he was refused, and so they perished together: And to *Bessus*, who depending on dealing with *Alexander*,

ander, upon the ruine of his Prince, of whom he had the greatest apprehensions, did perish in the design: And some heretofore out of arrogance and want of skill, have endangered their Country:

But we must take great heed we be not too apt to think amiss of the actions of a Prince or his Officers, which Men are too prone to complain of. First because we cannot judge aright of them, since they are at distance to most, and secret to all; the hearts of Kings are unsearchable. Secondly, We know not what they drive at, for they sowe one way oft times and look another, intending still the publique good: Moreover they are but men, and may have their failings; and we ought to cover, and not divulge, much less expatiate on their Infirmities, as we would not men should do so to us. They have their hands full of business, so that it is almost impossible but that deficiencies must be: Adde to this, that male contents do always magnifie the oversights of men in authority, and vilifie their good deeds beyond a due proportion, and by the reports they spread up and down, do give a discolouring to their actions: So that for this very reason we must always allow many grains; and if it were as bad as it may be sometimes made, which without all dispute it is not, as all men have their failings, so have they oft their peculiar periods wherein they commit them, sometimes gaining ground by such stumbles, and make the more wary men, upon the benefit of their experience.

II. **T**He gradations, means and manner how the English Nation came to such a greatness, is the subject of the History of England, of which the following Book is the first part, and thus the Sum.

At the discovery hereof by *Julius Caesar* it was divided into a multitude of petty governments, exceeding weak for that reason, and more liable to the Roman Conquests.

Under them it continued some hundreds of years, in that time designed in the nature of a Treasury, out of which they might draw men and wealth for the purposes of the Roman interests.

On their Exigencies in the Continent they left it weak, and subject to all Invaders, being disabled by the policies and pra-

Grises of their late Masters; for what they had most apprehensions of, they did most carefully endeavour to extinguish, which was the power and strength of them, whom having subdued they had desire to keep under.

In this condition habituated also for several Ages to a Slavish temper of mind, they were the more easily conquered by the Saxons, invited in to assist them upon the fresh affliction of their Northern Neighbours. Under them it continued a considerable time, divided into seven Nations, commonly called the *Saxon Heptarchy*, being then in somewhat better plight to defend themselves than formerly, because they were reduced to a fewer number of principalities, and were in no subjection, the *Danish* inroads and the consequence thereof for some too considerable time excepted.

After divers contentions, and great fluctuations, it all resolved at last into one Monarchy, under a *West Saxon* Prince, and then far more considerable. While it remained thus, the Church of *Rome*, and several of the Nobility, who had large possessions here, from the *Roman* policy, in granting large immunities to some who yielded to them in their Conquests; & consequently great interest did frequently perplex the Nation, with civil dissention, and by that very means principally it became a prey to the *Norman* Conquerour.

The same causes remaining, the effects did not differ under the succeeding Kings; in so much that those victorious Attempts and Conquests that were made in several places, especially in *France*, were frequently distracted, and at last utterly extinguished by our contentions at home.

In the time of *Henry* the 4th. The policy upon which great men kept and increased their estates beyond a moderate and competent bulk, by advantage of a Statute they had gained in the days of *Edward* the First, impowring them to Entayle all was frustrated by an invention at Law, which could not be effected before upon divers designs in Parliament; the issue of this was a bane to great possessions, and consequently to such powers and interests as did frequently mate the Kings, and disturb the people of *England*.

Henry the 7th. followed the blow, acting several things levelled to the same purpose, and with benefit to them that in those days did not generally think so, for by this means they were

were taken off from inclinations to a common mischief, to which they were provok'd by their passions, and the urgings of vain and necessitous men, and in the calamity whereof they themselves and their Families had the most deplorable shares.

The Church of *Rome*, together with the Doctrine of Salvation, had impress'd in the minds of men an opinion, that what is once given to the Church is Sacrilege to take away; by which means (it likewise having divers other arts to increafe) they kept their estates, and became very formidable to the Kings of *England*; but being undertook by *Henry the 8th.* he tore from them, with great severity, those large possessions which rendred them dangerous to his interests.

Queen Elizabeth his Daughter, by a long and prudent reign, did fix her self, and marvellously improve the Interest of this Nation, wrapt up inseparably with the truest of the Crown, And now did begin to appear the fruits of the Mariners Compass, not long before invented, the Trade and shipping of the world leaving the calmer, and settling in our more active Seas. In her Reign the Nation was very potent, as may be observed by the notable enemies it withstood, when the Princes round us were generall in design of our ruine, and yet with eternal honour were they all resisted, and some notably shattered.

Scotland was still out, and capable of being a mischievous diversion on all occasions, which immediately upon the *Queens* death was united in King *James*.

And now one would have thought the Crown had been out of all danger at home, when on a sudden did appear an interest in *Scotland*, which had its beginning in the *Queens* dayes, that by the neglect and absence of King *James*, working it self into the presence of powerful Noblemen there, and after into the hearts of certain *English* here, from a cloud no bigger in shew than a mans hand, became in the dayes of King *Charles* the First, a most good and pious Prince, the greatest storm, and of more terror than of many Ages had befallen, but is now dissipated. And the Kingdom till of late by the absence of the lawful Prince, was in perpetual danger of division and confusion; when it pleased God, at the point of despair, by the hand of the then General *Moncke*, and now Duke of *Albemarle*, a renowned and admirable Commander, to restore us one of excellent en-

dowments, our undoubted Prince, all his enemies being bound hand and foot, and prostrate before him, and to stablish him on the Throne of his Ancestors, in a far more considerable estate than any of his Predecessors; this Parliament, to their immortal honour, having repaired those fortifications of a Revenue, which some Princes heretofore in several Ages had suffered to decay, the antient fundamental maxime, That the Crown-Lands could not be alienated, being evaded, and those not now capable of being restored *in specie*, without manifest and extraordinary injustice and danger.

So that if one look upon this Kingdom, as once *Florus* did that of *Rome*, in a comparison to the life of Man, we may upon the prospect see it after many vicissitudes and Ages, from a lesser to a more significant stature, to have at last come to a compleat strength and vigour, such as the last and this Summer, under the auspicious Dominion of his Imperial Majesty, singly of his own force, to a chase of their enemies the *Dutch*, after short disputes upon other equal terms, notwithstanding the assistance from *France*, and alliance with the *Dane*; a manifest argument of the apprehension of their own weakness, compared with the strength of his Majesty; for I take the confederacies which have been many, to import amongst other reasons, the opinion the world has of his power, seeing experience tells us, the weaker Princes and States unite against the potent. It is remarkable, that this last Victory was at a time the English were thought to be very low, the Pestilence having swept away many, and a general decay of Trade, with some other considerations of uncomfortable memory, as if God Almighty would shew us what great blessings he has bestowed on us, in enabling our Sovereign to deal with the United strength of his Neighbours in a distracted condition; to the intent we might have no reason to suspect or fear when our fortunes are blooming.

[Have forbore to fill up this Præfatory discourse with the commendations of History in generall, though much might be reported on the singular advantages which arise therefrom, to a Judicious Reader, especially if it be of a Country where his concernments are great, and principally to persons of publique business; much less need it be done in an Age, and among people

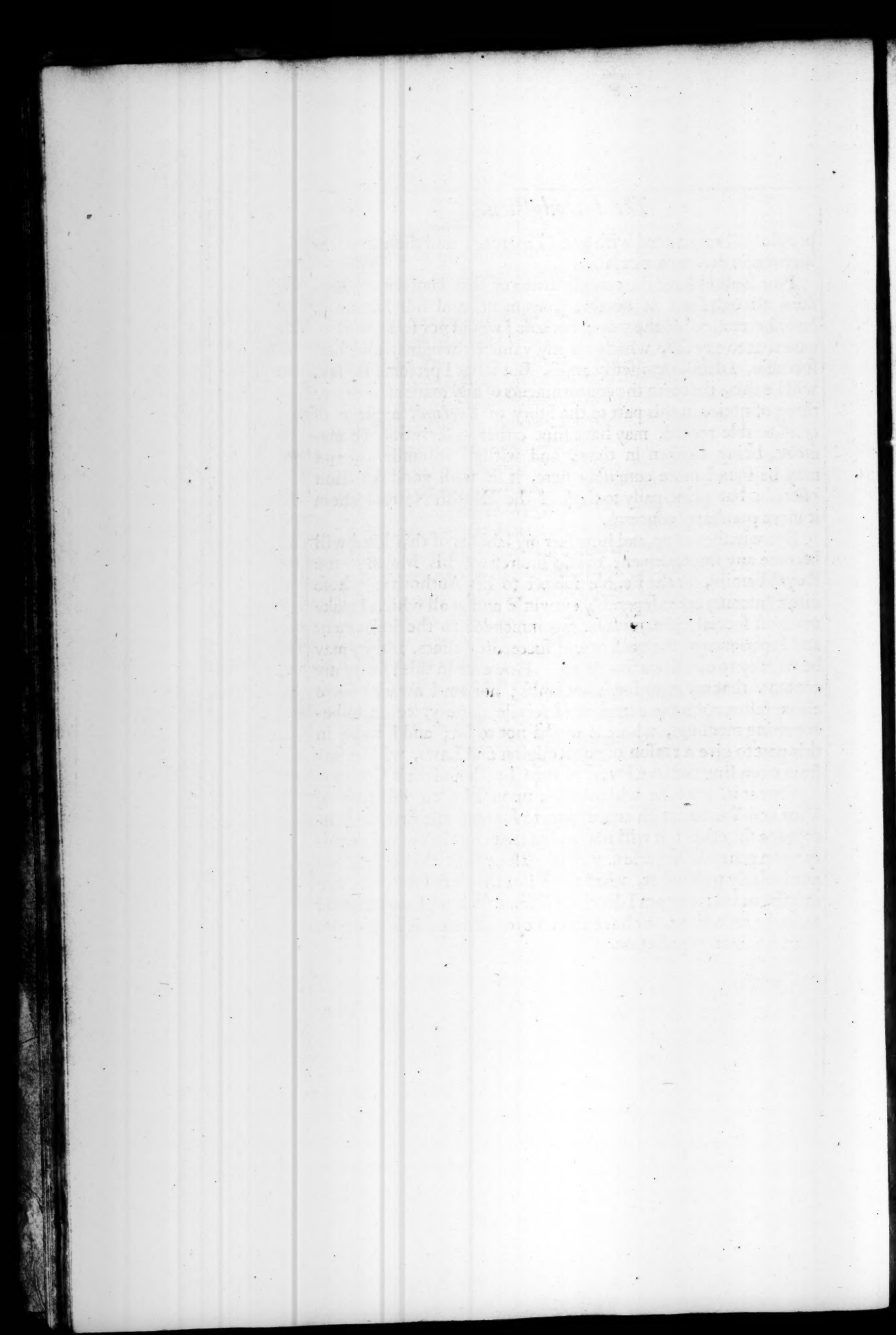
people well acquainted with good Learning, and their true valuations in divers particulars.

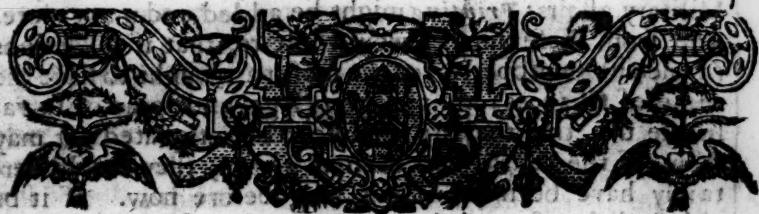
Nor shall I blame the complements of that concerning *England*, though some of notable Judgement, and full Learning, have heretofore led the way ; because I would not seem to arrogate that to my self, which on my vainest thoughts, and best successes, I think manifestly amiss. But what I presume to say, will be this, that if in the concernments of any mans affairs, any thing of notice in this part of the Story of *England*, a place of considerable regard, may have slipt either observation or memory, being broken in time, and withall voluminous, and may be found more concisely here, it is with good devotion offered ; but principally to those of the English Nation whom it more peculiarly concerns.

But whether or no, and how farr my labours of this kind will become any improvement to the Interest of his Majesty, the Royal Family, or the People subject to his Authority, whose direct Interests are inseparably entwin'd and at all which I make my most special aime, must be recommended to the judgement and experience of the present and succeeding times, if they may be worthy to out-live a few dayes. However in this I set up my content, that my meaning is not amiss ; nor am I aware I have either fallen upon the extreams of servile flattery, or an unbecomming meddling, where it ought not to be ; and I hope in this part to give a reason of our Religion and Laws, will be farr from offending the true lovers of the Church and their Country.

True it is, that he which takes upon him to discourse of Vice and Virtue, with endeavours to suppress the first, and encourage the other ; it will not be, but that certain out of infirmity upon general discourses, will be jealous they themselves are particularly pointed at, when the Vices they are subject to are only intended : nor am I deceived if some such persons be found to make reflections, or have an evil eye, sithence it is no more than common expectation.

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THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF England.



That every Country had a time wherein it was first Planted, besides what may be collected by Reason, seems true by Historical Observation also. A frequent increase there is of new Inventions, and such as are of admirable use, and extraordinary consequence.

The Marriners Compass grounded on the Magnetick virtue, is one, from which have proceeded more Alterations than can (without long time) be thought on, in Religion, Navigation, Diseases, and other weighty considerations: by the benefit thereof no less than a new World discovered in the consequence, whereof has followed a little World of new things. *Gun-Powder* is like-

wife worthy of Notice, and has greatly altered the way of Military affairs; *Printing* might be added, and many more. And from these things I would inferre, that if Inventions (which more properly, for the most part, ought to have the name of Chances) are new every Age, and some of so valuable use, that they are not like to be antiquated; it may seem, if the World had been *ab aeterno*, they would certainly have been found out long before now. If it be objected that several Arts are worn out of use; it may be answered, That he which shall read *Pancirollus*, a diligent enquirer into things of this nature, may observe that probably those which are thought to be lost, are either of frivolous value, or it is uncertain whether they are not still in being, under other Names, or somewhat varied only, and at the most but worn out by more excellent Inventions: an Argument of it self to the same purpose. Another is, That Countries (especially in this considerable part of the World) have Originals of their History, and those not farre distant in their time from one another. I am not ignorant what Stories are in some other parts of *Cbronicles*, containing a strange number of thousands of years; but I can finde no reason why they should be thought capable of continuing the Memory of things longer there than we here. It may be they have reckoned by *Lunar* years, perhaps out of affectation or mistake they did record erroneously, and it is not unlikely this very story is fabulous, as to the extent they speak of, though the report of a longer time may be truly more with them in some particulars than us. And till *Aristotle*, when the Creation was somewhat slipt out of memory, and tradition antiquated, the Philosophers of the World have been said to have held generally a beginning of it. I could enlarge upon this, but what is said may suffice, hapily, to the intent, we might be induc'd to believe that every Country had a time when a People were first planted in it; But a Man may say of them, as is usually spoken of some great Rivers, it is difficult to go up to their Spring-head, and more especially of the *Britains*, who trusted too much to their memories in their first known Age to the *Romans*.

Of the first Planters in Britany.

THE Opinions of Learned Men concerning the *Brittish* extraction, are various; It may not be improbable that the *Grecians*, or a *Greek* Colony, or some Neighbours who spake the *Greek* Language, or a Dialect thereof, first Peopled this Country, for these Reasons. It must be planted (in all likelihood) by Navigators, because it is an Island. The *Grecians*, and those who liv'd not far from them, about the first known time, were generally accounted of the best sort. They settled divers Colonies on the Sea-side, quite through the *Mediterranean*; and passing the Streights, might no doubt fixe severall on the Coasts upon the *Atlantick* Ocean. The *Greek* Language, worn out of vulgar use among the People, was preserved among the *Druids*, their Priests, upon the first Discovery by *Cesar*; and it is not to be found out how they came by it, unless by some Plantation among them; no other common intercourse having been heard of before. And another presumption is, The continuing of the Language has resemblance to the practise of the *Roman* Clergy, in keeping up the old *Latine* Tongue at this day; amongst whom are, as with these were, some interests and considerations of like nature. The *Britains* fought in Chariots, after the old manner about *Greece*, when they were first heard of in the *Roman* Territories, but a peculiar way then of the *Britains*, except in *Gallia* abutting; which *Cesar* in his Commentaries tells as a Novelty, in a particular Description of their way of Fight, to his Country-men. If we come to the first Name of the Island, we finde it called *Albion*, or *Alebon*; it seems to me to denote a derivation from *Lybia*, where *Greek* Colonies had set down. If we look upon the Conjectures of *Cesar*, he declares his Opinion, that there were here in his dayes two sorts of People, some whom he thought might come from *Gallia*, seated on those Neighbouring Coasts, upon some Conquests made; and a Nation within the Land of a more ancient settlement. *Tacitus* has much the same Conjectures, adding this, That he conceiv'd a third sort came into the North

from the *Germans*, and founds his opinion on their Complexions. This does not disagree with that of *Cambden*, who would have the *Gauls* to plant it; for it is not unlikely, some of them might come over into this Country, and yet another People might be here long before. And though I do not believe the reports of *Brute* in all points, concerning the *Trojans*, whom one may upon the matter call *Grecians*, in respect of their Founder, *Dardanus* a *Grecian*, and their near situation to that Country; yet I may reasonably suppose, that either it is true, in some parts, as the story of King *Arthur* is; but so absurd, by the many additions of fabulous and magnifying Writers, that the certainty thereof, is not only extinguish'd, for a great share; but may be hereafter, as this of the *Grecians*, with many learned men, utterly doubted. Or else, the Historian, who first brought it to light, finding a great probability, that the *Brittish* Extraction was chiefly *Greekish*, or so little distant, that it had great Relishes thereof; and withal, being taken with the same vanity, that some Writers of those times, and long before, did affect, to derive their Original from a *Trojan*-stock, did put this general truth into that particular shape, which would not bear the observations of learned men. I could add the consonancy of the *Greek* Language, to the words of vulgar use amongst us at this day, seeming to be the Primitives; and some observations on the credible report of an Altar, dedicated to *Ulysses*, the famous *Grecian*, as appeared by an Inscription found in the North, with some things more; but this being none of the most useful parts of an History, I will add with *Cambden*, That the *Gauls* might be next in some places, and the *Germans*, with *Tacitus*, in others; and so pass on to a Search, where they might first land; a question more hardly to be resolved, and I doubt, at the best, can be but conjectured at.

The Places, in which it may be supposed the Planters first sate down: And of the Fortunate Islands.

I Am moved to guess, that they who were in their Peregrination, might on their Landing fix on the Isle of *Man* or *Anglesey*, or both : for these Reasons. The *Druids* whose Name *Druetes*, a *Grecian* original, when this Island was first discovered to the more known parts of the World, were seated principally in these two, to *Anglesey* first, and not toward *Scotland*, a place of more remoteness, and probably of more security (were that the only Reason of their moving this way) as some have thought) the Southern *Britains* were still made, as they gave way to the Conquerors, a thing frequent among Colonies, to retire to their Original and Capital Seats, as being generally best fenced, and most affected; and at this day the *Welsh-men* affirm themselves derived generally from the ancient *Britain* Stock. The worthy Bishop of Saint *Andrews* in his History of the Church of *Scotland*, tells us thus of the Isle of *Man*, and the Northern *Britains* his Country-men.

Cratilius coming to the Crown, in the Year 277, made it one of his first Works, to purge the Kingdom of Heathenish Superstition, and expulse the *Druids*, a sort of Priests held in those dayes in great reputation. Their manner was to Celebrate Sacrifices, and perform their other Rites in Groves, with Leaves and Branches of Oak; and thence, saith *Pliny*, they were called *Druides*, for *δρῦς* in the Greek Language doth signify an Oak. It is likewise testified of them; that they were well learned in all natural Philosophy, Men of moral Conversation; and for Religion not so grossly ignorant and superstitious, as other Heathen Priests: for they taught, There was one only God, and that it was not lawful to present Him in an Image. I suppose this must be meant of a supreme God, for they held that the Souls of Men did not perish with the Bodies; and that, after death, Men were rewarded according to the life they led on Earth. They lived likewise in great respect with all sorts of People, and ruled their affairs very

politickly; for being governed by a President, who kept his Residence in the Isle of Man (which then was under the Dominion of the Scots) they did once every Year meet in that Place, to take Counsel together, for the Ordering of Affairs: and carried matters with such Discretion, that Cratilinth found it difficult enough to expulse them, because of the favour they had among the People. In this Isle King Cratilinth (after their Expulsion) Erected a stately Church to the Honour of our Saviour, which he adorned with all necessary Ornaments, and called Sodoreuse fanum, that is, the Temple of our Saviour; hence it is that the Bishops of the Isles are stiled Sodoreuses Episcopi: for so long as that Isle remained in the Possession of the Scots, the Bishops of Isles made that Church their Cathedral.

So that I conclude, The Druids, who had superintendency over the Southern Britains, resided metropolitically in Anglesey; and in the Isle of Man, those who governed Scotland, upon some Division at first; or else (upon the blow given those by the Romans, and their Jurisdiction confin'd to the North) they removed their Seat to the Isle of Man, one of the Places of their Original receipt being not Conquered. Caesar speaking of two kinds of People, here in the Southern Parts, to him only Discover'd, declares the more Novel to have liv'd neer the Gallique Coasts, and the more ancient upon the Western: Tacitus to whom was more known of the North, and would have a third sort Landed from the Germans, as was said before, did in the two first much agree with Caesar, and among his Conjectures, supposes that by the more swarthy Complexions of the Silures, and their Curled Hairs, some might come thither from Spain. There is to this day in those Parts a Tradition, *Mon-mam Cumri*, Man is the Mother of the Cumeri or Welshmen: this is interpreted by them, who perhaps never thought of any other Reason, to the plenty of Corn or other Provisions in the Island of Anglesey, in respect of other Parts of their Country, but those that are acquainted with it, and the rest also know, the assistance that comes to this purpose is not of so considerable notice. Now it is of frequent

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Observation that the *Cumeri* were the most ancient Northern People, that Inhabited about *Britain* and *Gallia*. The two fortunate Islands so much talkt of, and celebrated by the ancient Poets, have been for many Ages last past, utterly lost, and not to be discovered. Among many supposals, let us add some. They were two, and so are these of the *Mans*: they went both by one general Name, so did these; the one was called the bigger, the other the lesser *Mona*; one the neerer, the other the more remote. The ancient Philosophers and Poets were great Celebraters of virtue, and thereupon for encouragement to Men, did affirm there was a Place of Pleasure or Rest, whereto after life they were carried, who had lived Regularly, and that Place was sometimes called the *Elizian-Fields*, as at other the Fortunate Islands; they did further fancy, that though there were other delights, yet above all the pleasure of converse with the just, and a relaxation from care, was most valuable. They might therefore conceit the better of these Islands above other Places, because of the strict life of the *Druids*, a Religious People here dwelling, sequestred from the Cares of the World, and doubtless of a great Name for Virtue, at their first sitting down, especially (for besides what was observed by the Bishop) *Cæsar* tells us, they became Judges of all Controversies in *Britain* and *Gallia*, over which at last their Jurisdiction did extend. Their Name imports a Solitary Place, as Monastical among the Religious has the like signification from the *Greek* Language. The two fortunate Islands were, in the Judgment of the best Writers, generally, by the Report of a noted Mythologist, seated upon the Western Coast of *Britain*: they were in the *Atlantic* Ocean by common consent, and these are there also; for in ancient time that Tract of Sea lying beyond the Coast of *Africa* and *Europe* to the West, was called from the Mountain *Atlas*, (probably enough) the *Atlantic* Seas, the *Streights*, thereby being the out-let only to the *Grecian* and *Roman* Countreys, who successively Lorded it over this part of the World. The *Elizian-Fields* or Fortunate Islands, were said to be full of Shades: the *Druids* here nourished many Woods, to perform their

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Superstitious Rites in. *Anglesey* was called *Iuis Dowll*, a dark or shadowy Island, from the Wood there growing. The *Greek* and *Latine* Poets anciently reckoned, the North their right hand, and the South their left, from their way of looking to the West, toward the *Elyzian* Field. More might be said to this intent, which I purposely omit : I will add in the close, the Opinion of some few of Note. *Homer* thought they were on the Coasts of *Britain*. *Isacius Tzetzes*, a Greek Author of account in *Cambden's* opinion, reports they were with the *Britains*. And the Story of *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Sertorius* I will repeat; which me-thinks is not distant to what we are speaking of. *Sertorius*, upon his retreat out of *Spain*, was forc'd to take the Sea, and being there in little quiet also, not allow'd to land peaceably on the *Spanish* or *African* Coasts, (being then in the Mediterranean;) at last he passeth the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*, turning on the right hand toward the *Spanish* Shore again, whereto came divers Sailers from the Fortunate Islands, seated not farre one from another, about 10000 Furlongs from the Coast of *Africa*. *Sertorius* hearing hereof, was so taken with a Resolution of going to live there, retired from the Care of the Warres, that, had not the Pirates of *Cilicia* forsaken him, upon hearing these his Determinations, it is likely he had attempted to go. The Islands of the *Moni* are much about the same distance. But if these be not they, I will give over my enquiry with *Heylin*; who having searcht diligently for them, in all remarkable places of the World, seems at last to leave his hopes in the plain Field, as out of Expectation to finde out where they are: for I think not of any such probable two, on our Coasts, where it was in ancient time strongly reported they were.

Of the Government, Laws and Customes of the Britains.

Somewhat shall be said of the Government, Laws, and Customes of the *British* People. It is to be understood, they had a double subjection: the one to the *Druids*, their Priests, which was Universal over the whole Island, and a great part of *Gallia*; the other to the Civil Magistracy, which was divided into many Nations; in *Kent* alone, being four petty Kingdomes: so that we may conclude, those had the greatest Power and Interest. The *Druids* of the South, had each over them a Primate, as also those of the North; if they had not all one at first, they were chosen by Election, and sometimes divers would stand in Competition for the Place, and Warres would thereon ensue. Their Constitution, as *Cæsar* sayes, was reported to have had its Original in *Britain*, and not unlikely, as we mentioned before in the Isles of *Man*, their ancient Seats. They had in the greatest esteem the god *Mercury*, and much for this Reason, because he was supposed to have had the care of Travellers, another Argument of their Peregrination. After him, they had in reverence the other gods, with the same conceits of their Power, as had the *Grecian* Nation. They wrote in *Greek* Characters, and in the *Grecian* Language; but their writing was not much: for as to their Doctrine, they taught the mysteries thereof to their own Order only, and never committed it to any other Record, than that of their own memories. The People, which we call the Laity, had general Notions taught them, of what they were to believe: Such as were of most considerable note were these, That the Souls of Men are immortal, and that rewards and punishments attend them after Death, according as they observ'd the *Druids*, in their Tenents, concerning Religion and Virtue. Sacrifices they had frequently, the common great advantages of the ancient Priests, and to cover the Art from first sight, it is not unlikely they therefore taught also, that the Sacrifice of Men was pleasing to

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the gods: for seeing no other benefit might probably arise thereby to themselves, they might seem to intimate, the gods were well pleased with the very smell of an Oblation; and thereupon they did offer promiscuously, Enemies, Malefactors, and innocent Natives, whereby they had advantage over the People also, by a Power to determine who were the most fitting for such a purpose, and consequently an Universal awe over them. They made especial use of *Misseltoe* chiefly, that growing on an Oak, in their superstition cutting it down, with a Golden Bill, in very devout manner. They had in great use the Art Magick, a peculiar attendant on the Doctrine of ignorance. A Hare, Hen, and Goose, they forbade to eat, though for pleasure they had many. The common People were kept in ignorance, which might serve to them as a Mother of Devotion. The *Druids* were exempt from Taxes and the Warres, by which immunities, and other advantages, many did covet to be of their Order. It is thought that the Christian Religion, when first brought hither, was the easilier admitted, upon the apparent congruity to some of their Principles. They did excommunicate Offenders much in the same manner as it is done with us, excluding them the benefit of Law, all Men shunning their Society, and they had several other ways to punish Contemners of their Religion, and considerable rewards to the obedient. The Laity being divided into a great number of petty Governments, had thereupon, doubtless, various Laws and Customes, whereof we will mention a few, but cannot sort them to the particular Nations. Some of their Money was in Brasse, other in Iron-Rings; one especial sort, had the Figure of a Shield embossed, and on that side a certain Image, the Device was within. It is said, that in no other part of the World, but in some places belonging to *Greece*, this last sort of Coin was used, another Argument of their *Greekish* extraction. For Warre they had Chariots, or Wagons, or both; armed some with Iron, in the fashion of Siches at the Axle-Tree, to do the more mischief in their motion. In some places the principal Person guided the Horse, in others they had a Chariotier. In this last fashion the Person of Condition would alight

alight as he saw occasion, and fight on foot, retiring to the Chariot when he thought convenient. They were made of that fashion, and the Horses so train'd, that they would run very speedily, stay, and turn dextrously, even upon the declivity of a Hill. Some fought with small Shields, and short Pikes, with a Bell at the end thereof, to make a noise, whereby the Enemy might be daunted. They went for the most part naked, having a Sword girt to their Waists by an Iron Chain, and some had Collars with Links of Iron about their Necks for Ornament. They did wear the Hair of their Heads and upper Lips long, and shav'd it off in all other parts. Some cover'd that which modesty does direct us, others not. Their Bodies were painted with the shapes of Birds, and Beasts, &c. They lived upon Flesh, Milk, and Roots, and some Corn; but of this last they planted not much. Few Towns there were, and but ill built Houses: those which they had were in places full of neighbouring Trees, and fenc'd with Wood cut down, and other materials in a gross manner, wherein they lodg'd themselves and their Cattle. These things one would think do denote a barbarous People, and, as some have said, an ignorant Nation; and among our Historians, there are such, who make formal Apologies for it. Though I cannot altogether excuse it, yet, in my Opinion, such seeming Barbarisms were for the most part practis'd on choice, and for good Reasons. For it was with them then, as it is now with others, and like enough, will be always (when the Condition of a Country, is, or shall be, as theirs was) in no better nor civiler a plight, as they call it, though it may be somewhat various. It is consented to, on all hands generally, that at the same time the *Druids*, who then spread over the whole Nation, were great Philosophers, learned and civil in their Conversation; and no doubt, divers of the Laity also, though not very many, the *Druid*-Interest forbidding it. The Country being divided into many petty Nations, of Consequence it must fall out, that they had frequent Warrs, the Confines being small: then to make common Plantations of Corn, and to expect to have a principal maintenance out of it, unless at some special times and places, would, in effect,

be to subdue themselves, for thereby they would be subject to the inroads of their Enemies, and, on a destruction thereof, to a Famine. As to their going naked, necessity compelled many of them, for if they kept many Sheep, out of which Men are usually cloathed in cold Countrys, especially of our Clime, such kinde of Cattle are neither capable to be sent readily out of the way from forragers, nor protected from Beasts of Prey, as Wolves, and Foxes in great store, probably among the many Woods then in this Island. So then they were driven to live on wild Beasts, and what might be had from Kine, and the natural productions of the Earth, which were in less degree subject to such Inconveniencies, and the Hides were of great advantage for Coverings, and several other purposes. As to their dwelling Places, how vain would it be for any Man to spend a considerable part of his substance in building a House, which would be immediatly subject to prostitution, by irruptions of an Enemy, and Wood is so far from being an Argument of a barbarous People, in the sense it is usually receiv'd, that we may more truly say, it is a considerable and judicious protection for Men and Cattle in a small Territory, a little Country, being apt to be over-run and spoyl'd in few days, where all things generally are uncovered, and with small defence: But to come to the History.

Cæsar's Design to invade Britany.

Julius Cæsar abounding in the thoughts of Conquest and Glory, after he had made considerable achievements in *Gallia* and *Germany*, about fifty years before the account us'd in *England*, fifty four some have said, takes upon him a resolution to Invade the *Britains*: moved to it upon expectation of Riches, by the plunder of a large and unexhausted Country (Money being necessary in great Undertakings, and Cæsar had then in his mind such as were of no small dimension.) The Pearles of this Country

try were in great report in those days amongst the *Romans*, whether by mistake, or that there are none here in the latter Ages, equalling the former, is uncertain. But he gave out, that the *Britains*, in the Warres of *Gallia*, had assisted the *Galls*, and made that the pretence of his Invasion. The notice of *Cesar's* intentions, being come to the *Britains*, several of their States sent Embassadors to him, with tender of submission to the *Roman* Authority, and offer Hostages for their security; to whom *Cesar* was courteous, commending their resolutions, and exhorted them to constancy therein, but would not desist his former designs, this notwithstanding, but sent them away with one *Comius*, whom he had made Prince of the *Atrebatij*, a Person of Judgment and Fidelity, with directions to him, to manage an Interest amongst the States of *Britain*, according to certain Instructions, he had received from *Cesar*. This did not please the *Britains*: so when they came to Land, it was resolved to lay him in Irons, and effected accordingly, with an unanimous resolution, contriving to defend themselves like Men, against the power of those, whose greediness and ambition, by submitting, they could not satisfy. *Cesar* could not get knowledge, to any satisfaction, of the People, their ways of Fight, their Laws, Ports or Forces, only some superficial Information he had, by certain Merchants; thereupon he sends *Caius Volusenus* in a Vessel, to make some discovery, who return'd, after five days disquisition, and gave *Cesar* an account of what he had taken notice of; which could not be considerable, sithence he did not dare to land, because of the Enemy on the Coast prepared to receive him. What with *Cesar's* Warres on the Continent that Summer, which he had but newly pass't over, and what with his preparing for an Invasion by Sea, which must the rather spend him the more time, because it was out of his customary way of fighting, it fell out, that he could not be ready to Ship his Men, till neer Winter, for this very reason, somewhat the more inconvenient to him, because he was to pass an Army of Southern Men, into a more Northern Climate, as also, because of his return by Sea, for so he must, in respect of Winter Provision,

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which was not to be had, but in *Gallia*; the Seas being at the following Season, more rough and unconstant, which an Army is less able to endure, because they are in danger of being disperst, the confusion of many Naval designs of this nature: but notwithstanding, *Cæsar* trusting to his wonted fortune, was resolved to undertake it, and satisfies himself, with an apprehension, that, if he could but make a discovery, it might recompence his journey, by the advantage he might gain in his preparations, for another Summers expedition.

His Preparations, Voyage, and Landing.

THE *Galls* and *Germans*, being but newly quieted, and apt on all occasions, especially the first, to express their distaste of that subjection, with which, as yet they had not well been acquainted, he thereupon left a great party in *Gallia*, where he had most suspicion, and in those places, whither he intended, at his return to arrive, and strongly fortified the Port, called then *Iccius*, not farre from the now *Galls*, if not the same, from whence he did intend to set sail, as he had design'd likewise to come back to it. Two Legions of Foot, which might each contain about 5000 (for they were somewhat uncertain in their number) he resolv'd to transport, and certain Horse, which if they were the proportion, that was usually with two Legions, might be about a 1000. The Foot lay at the Port before mentioned, with whom *Cæsar* was in Person, and eighty Ships of burden to carry them over, 18 more he intended for the Horse, which together, with that lesser Fleet, were some few Leagues distant, and by reason of contrary winds, could not come up to him, before he was in his passage to the Island, with the other part of the Navy. He had also with him several Gallies, as we may call them, or Ships of War, to what number is not known.

During his expectation of the Horse, the Wind blowed fair, which opportunity, not willing to lose, he there-

thereupon ships his Foot, and weighing Anchor, sets sayl somewhat pass't midnight, sending to the Horse commands to do the like, and follow, and comes himself with the best Sailors, within view of the Island, somewhat before Noon the next Day. The Coast where he arrived, was unfit to Land his Men on, the Rocks hanging over the Sea, and consequently of more advantage to the Defenders, than Assailors, the rather, because the *Britains* might make great use of their missive Weapons, so he casts Anchor, and stays till the rest of his Fleet, which set sayl with him, came up, which was two or three hours after Noon; when they were neer, he sends for his principal Officers aboard him, and acquaints them with what *Volsenus* had discovered, telling them further his Intentions to try for a more favourable Shoar, and gives them particular Instructions what they should do, inculcating to them above all, the necessity of being exact in their duties on that unstable Element of the Sea. The Wind and Tide serving Him, he weighs Anchor, and sets Saile again, and within a small time, comes to a place not far distant, where was a plain and open Shore, proper to land his Men on, about *Deale* in *Kent*, as is supposed by several Circumstances.

The *Britains*, who attended *Cesar* at his Anchor, observing his motion, send their Horse and Chariots, being Lighter of march, before hand, and follow with their Infantry. *Cesar* had the usual difficulties to encounter with at his landing, especially the disorder of his Men dispers'd in several Ships, which did draw much Water and so of greater inconvenience. At first he made his attempt without any curious regard to the manner of doing it, not expecting any considerable resistance from naked Men, but not long after finding it otherways, and being of quick apprehension, he ordered divers of those Ships, which were not of burden to be manned with missive Weapons, and plac'd on the Flanks of the Enemy, others that did draw less Water to pass up and down, and relieve such, as at their Landing were oppress'd; which contrivance was of excellent benefit to him.

The *Britains* on the other side, notwithstanding this,

maintained the Battail with great courage and resolution, infomuch, that the *Romans* began to fail of their usual forwardness. This was observed by *Caesar* Himself, who did that day perform all the parts of an able General, making singular benefit of his small shot, and was taken notice of also by many others, and particularly by a *Roman* Ensign, who carried the Eagle of the tenth Legion, he seeing the report of their peculiar Fame at stake, leaps out of his Ship, with the Eagle in his hand, and first praying to the gods, that what he was undertaking, might prove happy to the Legion, calls upon the daunted and lingering Souldiers to follow him, unless they did intend to betray their Eagle to the Enemy; for his own part, he was resolved to do his duty to his Country, and his General. Upon this, the Legion provok'd, upon the apprehensions of dishonour in the loss thereof, began one after another to follow him, and the Fight being again renewed, which was at a stay before; when the *Romans* came at last to firm ground, it fell out, as might be feared, that the valiant, but unarmed *Britains*, did retreat: their natural Skins (in a close Fight especially) being an unfitting match to the *Romane*, heavy Corsets, at such time chiefly, as they were to encounter the most choice and victorious Souldiers, under the most able General, one of them, that ever the World had; I call it rather a Retreat, than Flight, though there were great disorder in it, because no chace was made, for want of Horse, who were delay'd in their passage, by several accidents.

*The Britains crave Peace; but on a Disaster to
the Roman Fleet, take New Councils.*

UPON this apparent Discovery of the inequality in the match, betwixt the *Roman*, and *Britain* Arms, and Discipline, these, with a general consent, resolve to make their best terms, and submit, and to that purpose send back *Comius* of *Arras*, before mentioned, with some of their own Country, as Embassadors, thinking by the one to

to moderate *Cæsar's* anger, and by the other, in consequence to procure a Peace. At their coming, they excuse their resisting Him, imputing it chiefly to the humour of the multitude; and tender Hostages, as a security of their Obedience for the future. *Cæsar* having first expostulated with them the breach of their promise, not to oppose him at his Landing, accepts of their Propositions, and accordingly, their Forces sever, many going home, to their own Countries. Pursuant thereunto also, several Hostages from the Neighbour States, are brought into the Camp, the rest being somewhat further off daily coming, and others expected, when on a sudden, an accident fell out, which gave the *Britains* new and hopeful resolutions.

As it was observed before, the Horſe, by reason of contrary Winds, could not come up to Port *Iccius*, when *Cæsar* loosed Anchor, being some miles off, and not using a speedy course to Embarque, and take opportunity of the same Wind, that he did, by delay, the Gale became weaker, and they had spent four days, before they were within view of the *Romans* in *Britain*, and then on a sudden arose a violent storm, which disperſt them; some being forc'd immediatly to return to the *Gallique* Coasts, others endeavouring to Anchor on the *Brittiſh*, proving very leaky, were compell'd to weigh again, and endeavour in the Night, for the Shoar, from whence they came; a time very dangerous then, especially for Navigation. It fell out likewise, that those Ships which were with *Cæsar*, part whereof were drawn on the Shoar, were extreemly broken with the Tempest, and some made utterly unſerviceable. These things were to the *Romans* an occasion of sad thoughts, but to the *Britains* of comfortable expectation; for it was apprehended on all hands, that if they should Winter in *Gallia*, the Ships were wanting that should transport them, and if in *Britain*, the Corn was not to be had, which might sufficiently maintain them, and the Horſe, which would be very convenient, and almost necessary, to the providing any considerable stores, was absent. To this, the *Britains* had an opinion, that the *Romans* were fewer in number, than in truth they were, collecting it from the ſmallneſs of their Camp,

which *Cæsar* had contracted, for the ease of his Souldiers to less then the usual bounds, because he had not so many Carriages, as Armies, did commonly march with. The *Roman* General on the one hand, having these things in his mind, and suspecting what the *Britains* might do upon this grand alteration, especially from the delay, was made, in sending in the compleat number of Hostages, takes great care to provide against the danger, and thereupon causes Corn to be daily brought in, from the Neighbouring Fields, where some was standing, and sends for materials out of *Gallia*, to repair his Ships, which (by his great industry, and the laborious toile of his Souldiers, he brought to this effect, that all, but twelve, were made able to abide the Sea. On the other hand, the *Britains* resolve to renew the War upon this accident, but judiciously determine not to fight the *Romans* in a set Battail, the experience of which they had had before, but to peece the Foxes Tayle to the Lions Skin, and draw the Warre out till Winter, to disturb them as they did see occasion, in their forraging, at some time or another, hoping to have a favourable opportunity to ruine them, suppress't they thought almost to their hand, by the want of necessaries, concluding, that if they could destroy these, it would be a great discouragement to all others, to make any further such attempt upon them for the future: and hereupon they that were in *Cæsar's* Camp of the *Britains*, withdrew themselves by degrees out of it.

Not long after, the *Roman* Foot having reapt all the Corn of a Field, (except a small piece, close by certain Wood sides) the *Britains* guess't they would come to it the next day; Whereupon, in the dead of the night before, they convey a great part of their Forces into the Covert, expecting the Enemy would appear and forrage, which accordingly fell out, as was imagined, for the seventh Legion was sent to cut it, and carry it away, and when they came, laying down their Arms, fell hard to their Harvest, suspecting not in the least the Ambuscado. The *Britains* having fortune in their lap, arise, and fall with great resolution on them, in this their disorder, and killing many, drove the rest into a heap, whom (having snatch't

snatch't up their Weapons in haste, and not had time to place themselves regularly, but by chance) the *Britains* oppressed sorely with their Chariots and Darts. *Cæsar* had notice of this by accident, for those Cohorts which were upon the Guard, before the Camp, taking notice of a great dust arising that way, which the Legion had march'd, gave intelligence thereof to *Cæsar*, who immediately apprehending the danger, commanded those to go along with him, some to succeed them in the Guard, and other Forces to follow after. Hastening to the Field, when he came, he found the Legion in great perplexity, and sorely laid to, but by his presence and recruits, he did much revive them, and stay the *British* fury, yet on the one hand, he thought good to stand still for some time, without provoking the Enemy, supposing this not a proper season, his Men having a terror on them, upon the late misfortune, and they would not attempt on him, suspecting greater Forces in the rear: So at last both withdrew, *Cæsar* to his Camp, and the other up into the Country.

*The Britains attempt Cæsar before his Camp,
with ill success, and Cæsar's return.*

THE *Britains* being somewhat discouraged in their late thoughts of protracting the Warre, by the expedition and activeness of the *Roman* General, in the repair of his Ships, and not much hoping for such another advantage, by the Division of the Enemies Forces, they design, while their late success was fresh in memory, to give one manly attempt more, for the recovery of their liberty, notwithstanding the great disadvantage on them, of Arms, Discipline and Union, in those they were to fight with. They had this other encouragement, that *Cæsar* could not follow his Chace far, for want of Horse, if they should loose the day, and being Victors, as they spread it up and down they had been, in the last Skirmish, besides the booty they

might gain, and a fair expectation of delivering their Country; at this time they were not without confidence of frustrating future attempts, by the terror such a fortune would bring on the *Romans*; to this may be added, that confederated Forces, are too apt to dissolve on casual contingencies, which the late smiles of fortune had kept together and increast. Some few days they were on both sides kept from action, by tempestuous weather, but this being blown over, they draw down a considerable force of Horse and foot toward the *Roman Camp*. *Cæsar* receives them with his Army, in good order before it, and without much time spent, puts them to flight, chasing them with about thirty Horse, which *Comius* had brought thither, upon his Embassie, before *Cæsar's* landing; some slaughter was made, and in the close, some Towns were fired that night by the *Romans*; after which they return to their Camp again. This attempt succeeding so ill, the *Britains* again resolve to make conditions, and to that purpose, send Embassadors to treat of Peace; the Terms are agreed on, and amongst the rest, that Hostages should be sent, for the security thereof, after *Cæsar* into *Gallia*, whether he had now thoughts to return, but with no other intent in him, then to come back the next seasonable time into the Island, into whose weakness, by this his first voyage, he had too deep an insight, and of which, they were not long after sensible.

The Winter drawing on, for *September* was begun, *Cæsar* makes haste back, suspecting the danger of these Seas in such time, to his crazie and shattered Fleet, and taking the opportunity of a fair Wind, weighs Anchor, and sets sayl, somewhat after midnight; arriving safely with all but eleven Ships of burden, upon the Continent, these not keeping their course, landed somewhat lower at another Port, and the Souldiers being few in number, the *Morini*, on whose Coasts they happened to be, falling on them, would have cut them to pieces, but they were rescued by *Cæsar*; and this was the first attempt made upon the *British* Coasts, of which we have any sufficient Authority to ground an History on.

Cæsar's second Voyage.

Cæsar having made his return into *Gallia*, according to his customary way, passes into *Italy* for *Rome*, there to spend the Winter, in the management of his *Roman* Interests, leaving behind him, to his principal Officers, command to repair those Vessels, in which he returned, and to fit them according to particular directions he had left of building new ones. He ordered a very great number to be built; that they should be flat bottomed, and lower, in the nature of Gallies, to the intent, they might use them with Oars, be fitter for shipping, and landing his Men, and wider to carry over the more Souldiers, and Provisions for an Army. This was with great diligence and industry, effected according to their instructions, by the Legates, and other Officers left behind. What was wanting on the Coasts of *Gallia*, they caused according to direction, to be brought from *Spain*, insomuch that at Cæsar's return, he found about six hundred Vessels fitted for this purpose. Observing this, he commended those who were diligent in their care and trust, and settling some disorders that were arising in *Gallia*, upon the apprehension of his intended absence; He prepares himself for his second Voyage.

Three Legions, and about two thousand Horse he left behind him, near the Port *Iccius*, with Instructions to provide necessaries of War, and to secure his return; five Legions he designs to take with him, and two thousand Horse, and to carry over a large number out of the best Families of the *Galls*, which might be to him in the nature of Hostages, cutting off a Prince of the greatest authority and interest amongst them, who had with-drawn himself privily, after he could not be excus'd by Cæsar, from going along with him, on several pretences of occasion to stay. Being ready, not long after, it blew a fair gale, whereupon he ships his Men, setting sayl at the going down of the Sun, with a gentle Wind, standing for the Coasts of *Britany*, but it left him about midnight fol-

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lowing; so the Tide prevailing by spring of day, he could perceive they had held a course, which brought them much upon the left hand of that part of the Island, where *Cæsar* had the last year landed his Men, and at what place again for his former good success, and the knowledge of the ground, he did desire to arrive. The Tide turning, and befriending them again; with the benefit of their Oares also, they came by noon the same day to the Coast intended, and landed without any disturbance. The *Britains* having made a retreat, upon the apprehension of his Forces, which they concluded were very great, from the number of the Ships above 800 in all, many being added to carry Provisions and some Officers, having divers for their private use. *Cæsar*, the first thing he did upon land, appointed out a place for a Camp, and causes it to be fortified, wherein he left the baggage, and a party of ten Cohorts, to secure both that and the Fleet, which was at Anchor hard by, and leaving *Q. Atrius* to command, he begins his march, to finde out the *Britains*, having been informed by certain Prisoners, which way they had made their retreat. When he had marcht about twelve miles, he found the *Britains*, with their Horse and Chariots, to have made a stand at a River side, on a piece of ground of advantage, in respect of the height. *Cæsar* charges them, and they receive him valiantly, but being overmatcht, and their apprehensions pressing on them, they make a further retreat into the Woods, to a fortification strong by nature and Art, according to the fashion of their own Country, and divers Trees being cut down and laid across; (I suppose at distances without the Camp;) The *Romane* Order thereby was much impeaded in their approaches. The *Britains* made frequent sallies in small parties, and did some mischief to *Cæsar's* Army, but the Souldiers of the seventh Legion raising a Mount and a Testudo, entred their Fortrefs, and the *Britains* were constrained again to dislodge and flie, not much loss being suffered on either side, in respect, the rather the day being spent, and the Country unknown to him, he was unwilling to continue the Chase far, but did desire to imploy his Men in the fortifying another Camp for the lodging

ing of his Souldiers that night; an excellent piece of Discipline, whereby to secure and refresh a wearied Army, and of great practise amongst, and conducement to the *Romans* in all their Conquests.

A Storm does mischief to Cæsar's Fleet.

THe next day after, *Cæsar* sent out three Parties of Horse and Foot to finde out the *Britains*, and take some spoiles of the Country; but presently upon it, news came to him from the Fleet, by certain Horsemen from *Q. Atrius*, that the night before, almost every Ship had some mischief; divers were broken to pieces, and made utterly incapable of service, and most cast upon the Shoar, by the violence of a Tempest which had been raging the night before the Anchors coming home, and the industry of the Sea-men little availing. Upon this news, *Cæsar* sends for the Souldiers back again that were on their march, and returns to the Fleet, where he sets himself diligently to work to repair it. He sends to *Labienus*, whom he had left Commander in chief of his Forces in *Gallia* to send him shipwrights, and to build him as many new Vessels as possibly he could; and out of his own Army, he causes divers to be drawn, and imployed in the repairing of his Vessels. In which business he spent about ten Days, not resting in the Night, and with admirable industry, brought it to this effect, that not above forty were utterly unserviceable and lost. Suspecting the like accident might again happen in his absence, he causes them to be haled on shoar by the Camp side, and enclosed both with one strong Fortification; and then leaving the same party which was there before for a guard, he returns with the Forces he brought back to the place where he had lately beaten the *Britains*.

*Cassibelan Elected General, attempts Cæsar's
Forces several times.*

IN the mean while, at a common Consultation the *Britains* discourse their Condition, and the inconveniencies arising to them by the diversity of Councils, and thereupon with one consent Elect *Cassibelanus* Prince of the *Trinobantes* for their Generalissimo; a Person of excellent conduct and valour, hoping by the management of their affairs in such a hand to succeed the better. His Royal Seat was at *Verulam* about a mile from the now *St. Albanes*, and his Country large, extending it self on the one side to the River of *Thames*; *Cassibelanus* being placed in this trust, raises very great forces, and with his Horse and Chariots, falls upon the Enemies cavalry in their march, and gave them, as *Cæsar* acknowledges, a sharp charge, but was not able to maintain the Fight long, against his well-disciplin'd, and well-experienc'd Veterans: Being compell'd to make to places of advantage, upon Hills, and among Woods, the Enemies following after them, of whom many were cut off in the pursuit, going too far from their Eagles, and being too eager in the Chase. *Cassibelanus*, upon the *Romans* retiring to encamp, returns, and lying upon the edge of the Woods, resolves to observe whether any advantage might be taken on them by accident, with whom he thought he had no equal match in a plain Field. It fell out according to his expectation, for the Army of *Cæsar* was generally disordered in fortifying their Camp, there being a party only, not very considerable, on the guard before it. Upon these he charges with great resolution, and such a fury, that had not *Cæsar* sent speedily two Cohorts for their rescue, it is not unlikely most had been cut off; for *Q. Laberius Durns*, a Tribune was that day killed, with many others. These two Cohorts were some small distance from each other, and it should seem, by the report of *Cæsar* in his Commentaries, that the Guard was surrounded, and thereupon being over-laid and terrified with an unusual kind of fight, they

they broke through the Enemy, and either retreated, or plainly fled into the distance betwixt those two Cohorts before mentioned for their security, but several more fresh supplies coming in; the *Britains* retire themselves, either satisfied with what they had done, or that probably upon the Alarm, they could not do much more.

The manner of this Fight was thus on *Cassibelan's* side: When he charged the Horse, it was done in small parties with great distances, (the rather it may be, because of their Chariots, which must have compass to turn in) if any had the worst, they retreated, and sometimes in Policy did it without any other cause, whom if a few of the *Romans* followed, they would descend out of their Chariots, and fight the Horse on foot, which *Cæsar* declares was not an equal match on the *Roman* side; and when they charg'd the Foot, if there were reason, they would retire in good Order, and avoid the Chase of the heavy armed Legionaries; if any of their own Parties were overlaid or wearied, through these spaces they sent fresh men. Whether this was their customary way of fighting, or designed by *Cassibelan* to match this kinde of Enemy, is uncertain, but doubtless it was advantageous to the *Britains*; and had they had as good defensive Weapons as the *Romans*, it is like enough they might have given a good account of that Days work.

Cassibelan the next day after kept the Hills farre from the Camp, and appeared but little in Parties, in respect of what he had done before, until Noon; at what time *Cæsar* sent out three Legions, and all the Horse to forrage with *C. Trebonius*, a Legate, whom (encouraged by his former success) he charges very resolutely; but the *Romans* receiving him with a great force, and preventing the *British* policy, by pressing so hard upon them, that they could neither rally those that were routed, nor relieve such as were hard laid to, at last they were forced to flee, many of his Men being killed in the Battail and pursuit.

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Cassibelan's

Cassibelan's second thoughts.

C*assibelan*, upon this, concluding with himself, that nothing of advantage could be had upon the *Romans* in a close fight on equal ground, comes in the next place to a resolution of attending *Cæsar* in his march, with a small number of his choice Forces, which accordingly he does, and taking with him about four thousand Wagons. By the advantage he had in the knowledge of the Country, he thought to secure himself the better from being forced to fight, and to keep the *Romans* from doing much spoile in plundering and firing it; Withall, he conceived he might starve them out at last, by causing all the Cattle to be driven into the Woods, where they apprehended the *Romans* would take their march; this was accordingly put in execution, not without hopes also, as occasion serv'd, to cut some of them off who did straggle, if they could not light upon an opportunity of advantage on the whole body of the *Roman* Army; a Counsel of good contrivement and success, for it fell out after, that divers who were spread up and down upon hope of plunder were killed, which occasioned the *Romans* to march close, putting them to some streights for provision, and prevented thereby great mischief to the Towns. *Cæsar* being in his march for the Country of the *Trinobantes*, intending to pass over the River *Thames*, at a place fordable, but one thereabouts being known (about *Outlands* supposed) by the Captives and Runagates, he understood that the Enemy lay with a good force on the other side, and that the Foard was knock't full of Piles of Wood, sharpened at the upper end, and were all under Water out of sight, to the intent they might annoy, and disorder the *Romans* in passing the River, being ignorant thereof, and so set upon them at landing in their confusion; which being discover'd, did prevent the hoped for success of *Cassibelan's* design; for *Cæsar* pass't over with the greater care and expedition, readily provided to receive the *Britains*, sending the Horse first, and directing the Legions to follow close after them,

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in whom he had greater confidence against this Enemy, then in the Cavalry, these being frequently in great danger, as *Cæsar* confesseth in their marches, when they were far from the Legions upon any occasion. The *Romane* Foot, having march't through the Water, which was up to their shoulders, and being come to the Bank-side, gave a charge upon the *Britains*, who not being able to sustain it, gave way, after some contest, and at last fled. *Cæsar* from hence takes his march directly to *Verulam*, not far from the now *St. Albanes*, intending to force it, having understood it was a Town of some importance, the principal Seat of *Cassibelan*, and full of Cattle driven in thither, upon apprehension of the *Roman* Army; this he assaults, and possesses himself of it, the People hastening out, not being able to resist him, many of whom were killed in the flight.

All this while *Cassibelan* waited on *Cæsar*, and out of the Woods, by paths unknown to the *Romans*, did skirmish with them now and then, as he contriv'd or found advantage, especially with the Horse, and such parties as were abroad for forrage and plunder, which did occasion more safety to the *Britains*, and in a great part render *Cæsar's* design of a speedy conquest, and to enrich himself and his Souldiers with the spoile of the Country, fruitless. Whereupon on the other hand the *Roman* General casts about to save his honour, and to shift off a War like to be tedious and unprofitable. There was a faction against *Cassibelan*, among the *Trinobantes*, who had sent Commissioners at this time in the name of that State to *Cæsar*, desiring that *Mandubratius* the Son of *Immannentius*, who was formerly Prince of their Country, but deposed and kill'd by *Cassibelan*, might be restored to them, and withall offer to submit themselves to the *Roman* Common-wealth, and to give Hostages for security thereof. This opportunity *Cæsar* gladly takes hold on, and accepts the tearmes, requiring forty Hostages, and certain Corn for his Army, which by the policy of the *British* General would not long have been out of want, had they not receiv'd these Provisions, or gain'd the like by some other means, which would not have been so easie and se-

cure. Pursuant hereunto, *Cæsar* sends *Mandubratius*, who had formerly fled to him out of *Gallia*, for the security of his life, to this people, according to their request; and his Conditions on the other hand, they punctually and speedily observe: *Cæsar*, desirous to improve the fortune and contrivance, commanding his Souldiers to offer no violence to the *Trinobantes*, which was punctually obeyed; the consequence whereof brought in five petty States more to *Cæsar's* submission.

The Britains submit, and Cæsar leaves the Country.

Cassibelanus, this while expecting the success of a design, he had laid, to fall upon the *Romane* Camp, in their security, by his Allies, where the shipping was in *Kent*, though he found a decay of his strength, did forbear as yet to treat: but that failing also, by a Sally made out of the Camp, the *Romans* beating them of *Kent*, who were to execute it, and one of their chief Nobility taken Prisoner, he comes at last to a Resolution of submitting; having performed to his eternal glory all the parts of an able General, with inconsiderable Forces, compared to those of his Enemy, hoping for a better conjuncture of affairs hereafter, which *Cæsar* more willingly accepts, expecting little other good to be done that Summer, and now studying to return to affairs of better expectation.

Cassibelan was a Prince of admirable conduct and valour, and inferiour to *Cæsar* only in the quality of his Forces, he commanded, as has appeared by the prudent courses he took at all times in managing the War, and the resolute attempts he made, his ground being won from him by the Inch, and not without puzzling the brains of *Cæsar* himself.

It is manifest here was made but an inconsiderable progress by *Cæsar*, yet in his Commentaries he declares he put down what tribute the *Britains* should pay, as if he had made a compleat Conquest, when *Tacitus* and other *Romane* Authors conclude generally, he did little more than

than shew, than the Country. We will receive it in a favourable sense, that he meant, he had made such terms with some part of them. *Cæsar* intending for the Continent, and being fuller of baggage at his return than entry, (having many Prisoners also) because he had lost some of his Ships in the tempest, contrives to carry over his Soldiers at twice, which accordingly he did, after some delay, in expecting the return of certain of the first, that were dispers'd by contrary Winds: and landed them safe in *Gallia*, in a good passage thither.

These were the enterprizes of *Cæsar* in this Island: he was of an excellent contrivance, and bold in execution, wary, subtile and circumspect, in all his martial affairs, attended almost constantly with success; but was not without violencies of lust and ambition in the prosecuting his designs, not shewing at all times that due reverence to the Power above, or respect to man-kinde, as became a Person of his endowments, from nature. After great contentings amongst his Country-men, not without a large effusion of blood and slaughter, being arrived at a high pitch of Power and fame, in the glory of the *Roman* state the Senate House, in the close of all his labours and toiles, when he expected to have received some fruits of his sweat and pains, he was murdered at the foot of his Son-in-Law, *Pompey's* Image, whom not long before he had ruined, with above twenty wounds, his neer relation *Brutus*, whom once he intended a great share of his estate, being a principal contriver; and that *Brutus* the Son of *Servilia*, supposed to be his base Childe, giving him a mortal stab in the bottome of his belly.

The State of Britain, during the time of Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula.

U Pon the return of *Cæsar*, as was before mentioned, to the Continent, the civil Wars of *Rome* hapned, the principal of their Common-wealth falling out about dividing

viding the plunder and riches, which in several Ages their Country-men had been acquiring; during which time, the *Britains* had respite from their Invasions.

Upon the death of *Caesar*, *Augustus* after he had contended with *M. Anthony*, and became Superior, not only to him, but all of a contrary faction in *Rome*, did affect a quiet and peaceable life, supposing it not convenient, as he gave out, to enlarge the *Romane* Empire, big enough for management already, and thereupon the *Britains* had still the greater security. But the tribute set down by *Julius Caesar*, being neglected to be paid, twice or thrice he intended an Invasion, disdaining to be baffled by a Country of little note in those days; but being on his march in Person, was diverted by revolts on some other remote borders of his Dominions, and withall pacified by some *British* Embassadors, who renewed their conditions.

Tiberius who succeeded him, had the same resolutions, but was on different reasons moved to it, choosing rather to attend his lust and cruelties at home, than look abroad into foreign Countries.

Him followed *Caligula* in the supreme Authority, a Prince dissolute, and abounding in vain conceits, as do witness his solemn message to the Senate of *Rome* of the Conquest of *Britain*, when neither he or any of his Officers ever set foot thereon. The colour was the receiving of *Adminius*, a fugitive *Britain*, the Son of *Cunobeline*, a Prince in this Island, who fled from his Fathers anger, and submitted himself to *Caligula*. In his Reign nothing fell out worthy to be reported in the *British* History, unless one should remember his frivolous attempt upon the Ocean, at such time as all Men did generally presume, he intended to imbarque for *Britain*; the Story whereof take from *Suetonius* in his own words, thus translated; Last of all, as if he were undertaking a War, marching with his Army on the Sea shoar, and placing his Engines of battery, no Man knowing or imagining what he was about to do, on a sudden commands them to fill their Helmets and their Laps with Shells, calling them the Spoils of the Ocean, of right a due to the Capitol and Palace; and as a Trophy of his Victory, erects a most high Tower,
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out of which, as from a Pharus, Fires might every night shine, to direct the course of Sea-men; and having declared a donative of a hundred donaries to every Man, as if he had exceeded all examples of liberality, bids them depart now joyfull, depart with plenty.

Under Claudius, by the conduct of A. Plautius.

ALl this while it appears not to the contrary, but that the *Britains*, who paid their tribute, enjoyed, aswell as the rest of their Country-men, their Laws, Customes, and Liberties. During this long intermission from disturbance, being divided into many petty Kingdomes and Nations, they were frequently among themselves at War in one place or another; one Interest prevailing sometimes, and at another a different, and upon Victory, many of the adverse party either were banished or fled of themselves. And so it fell out, that *Claudius* succeeding *Caligula*, one *Berikos* being a *British* fugitive, instigated him to make an attempt on the Island, which *Claudius* did well like of, and thereupon sent Orders to *A. Plautius*, to transport those Souldiers, which he then commanded in *Gallia*, into this Country; the Souldiery were very unwilling to go, and trifled away their time in a kinde of mutiny, insomuch that *Caesar* hearing thereof, sent *Narcissus* his freed man to halten their imbarquing, which he accordingly did, but not without disdain in them, and a contempt of him, in respect of his former condition, having been once a Slave.

The Army was divided into three bodies, intending thereby, that if they were obstructed in one place, by the difficulty thereof, or the strength of the Enemy, they might some of them land in another. Having put to Sea, they met with cross Winds, and foul weather, which was the cause of great disturbance, but a light darting toward the Island, from the place whence they put to Sea, certain who had good wishes for the journey, interpreted it as a direction from some God, that favoured their enterprize,

and so encouraged the Fleet, which struggling with the violence of the Tempest, they at last landed on the *British* Coasts.

The *Britains* not suspecting their arrival, because of the disorder they heard was among the *Roman* Army in *Gallia*, which was before mentioned, did not oppose their landing; moreover their civil contentions being lately sharp they could not suddenly make such a confederacy, as might probably encounter with a good expectation, the force of the *Romans* at peace, and marvelously strong in all parts: So they retired into places that were woody and full of bogs, expecting, as *Dion* says, to weary out the *Romans*, as *Cassibelan* their former General had done heretofore with *Julius Caesar*. *Plantius* bestows great labour in finding out their scattered Forces, and meets with some, to wit with *Cataratacus*, and *Togodumnus*, the two Sons of *Canobeline* lately dead, whom he easily dissipates, and withall practises to head some of their factions against the other, following the example of *Julius Caesar*; a thing not difficult, in a Country divided into such a multitude of Nations, as *Britany* then was: And he finds one proper for his purpose amongst the *Boduni*, or *Dobunni*, seated about *Oxford* and *Glocester* shires, whom he receives into his protection, having been before subject to the *Catuelani*, a Nation about *Buckingham*, and the County of *Hartford*.

Leaving a Garrison among them, he marches to a River, intending a passage over, to finde out certain other *Britains*, who lay in security beyond it, suspecting likewise nothing, because they thought the *Romans* could not get to the other side, being the Water was deep, and that there was no Bridge: but *Plantius* having *Germans* with him, who were accustomed to Swim through Rivers in Arms, he sent them over first, who falling upon the *Britains* unexpectedly, did them much mischief, especially by wounding their Horses that drew their Chariots, which in their encounterings they did chiefly aime at; *Flavius Vespasian*, and *Sabinus* also followed and kill'd many, not apprehensive thereof till it was too late. But this notwithstanding, they rallied together, and by the bene-

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fit of the night got into some order, and gave them Battail the next day with great courage; which was for some time doubtful: But the few and naked *Britains*, by their divisions less able, did yield to the heavy Armed, united, and well disciplined *Romans*; though like enough they were equal, if not superiour to them in personal resolutions. Upon their flight, they pass over the River of *Thames*, being acquainted with it better than the *Romans*, at a place not far from that, where it delivers it self into the Sea; The *Romans* followed, and the *Germans* again take the Water; others go over at a Bridge somewhat higher; and encompassing the *Britains*, give them a great slaughter; which was yet in some measure repaid by the *Britains*, who having kept their Courage, though they lost the Battail, destroyed many of their Enemies, following the Chase too far among the Bogs; but *Togodumnus* was slain.

But this is said, rather to inflame, than abate the *Britain* resolutions, for they now having got some time to consider of their affairs, put themselves, as is reported, seriously to work, to defend their Liberties in a more formidable manner, than heretofore they had done; whereupon *Plantius*, according to his Instructions, if any thing of danger should happen, as *Dion* delivers it, endeavours the security of what he had got, and sends to *Claudius* for his direction, in the danger approaching: He upon this news, puts the affairs he had at *Rome* in order, and comes partly by Land, and a considerable way by Sea, where he was in great danger by Tempests, to his Army, expecting him at the River of *Thames*. Soon after he was with them, he passes the River, gives the *Britains* Battail, and vanquisheth them, takes the City *Camalodunnum*, supposed to be the now *Maldon* in *Essex*, the then regal Seat of *Cunobeline*, others upon their submission, he receives to mercy, disarms many, and leaves *Plantius* to subdue more with these doubts also behind him to after Ages, whether he came thither upon a vanity, affecting a Tryumph, and other memories of honour, or that in truth *Plantius* was hard laid to, and withall no less disputable, whether so much as any considerable Battail was fought the *Britains*, like enough,

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yield.

yielding upon the extraordinary preparations of the *Romans*, and good terms offered them; for the confiscation of their goods was remitted.

Caesar staid here about sixteen days; what was done after his return, by *Plantius*, is not much taken notice of; but I should think the Conquest of the West about *Cornwall*, *Somersetshire*, and *Devonshire*, was now perfected, thence mention is made of his Marches there toward the Isle of *Wight*; and I remember not any particular other discourse of their yielding. For the spoils and acquisitions here taken, upon his return to *Rome*, *Claudius* did him publick honour. And now is the first time that the *Romans* may have been said to have taken any possession of this Country, which was about the Year of Grace 44, or 5.

P. Ostorius succeeds Plautius.

Ostorius was the next that succeeded *A. Plantius*, for ought we know of any account in authentick History to the contrary. At his coming, he found those *Britains* who had conspired with the *Romans*, to the destruction of their Country, or had made any League or submission to them, over-run by such who were faithful to their Native Soile, and had not submitted, and much waste made in their Fields, not being apprehensive of the *Roman* Forces, the rather, because their General was not acquainted as yet with his business, and in this colder Climate (Winter being begun) they suspected not much action. *Ostorius* observing this, takes with him certain Cohorts which were most expedite and ready for his purpose, and sets upon the *Britains* unexpectedly, routing those that resist, and chasing them that flee.

It should seem, that the *Romans*, from the former War, had confederacy with, or possession of so much Land, as lay from the River *Sabrine* and *Anton*, with bounds from the Ocean to the Sea. These two Rivers do almost meet, and within their compass Southward, lies a very wealthy and rich part of the Island. Now it appears *Ostorius* (intend.

(intending to secure what was gain'd, rather than to enlarge the Roman Conquests) designed to Fortifie, and close them, as it were with Garrisons: The words of Tacitus are, *Cinēfosq; castris Antonam & Sabrinam fluviis cohibere parat, &c.* The *Sabrine* is well known to be the River *Severn*, but this *Anton* is much doubted of. Mr. *Cambden* would have it be the River *Nen*, and that in Tacitus it is transcribed amiss, and should be *Ansonam*, the *Avon*, upon a supposition that the *Britains* call all Rivers *Avon*; and so *Northampton* should stand on the North of the *Avon*; but I doubt thereof, because it seems not much probable, if that River had been ever us'd to have been call'd the *Avon*, as I finde not: and at this day Men, I fear, think not of such a name; the word *Northampton* seeming rather to infer, that it is a Town on the North side of a *Ham*, or *Hame*; the word *Ham* signifying generally a hook, from *Hamus*, and applicable frequently to hooks of Water; so this Town standing on the North side of a hook of water, may have thence its name, as *Southampton* from a hook of Water in the South of the Town. I take it, that by *Anton* is meant the River *Trent*, because it is a more considerable River, and fit to bear a name of note, without particular distinction, as did that of *Soverne*; it is accounted the third River of *England*, and proper to joyn hands with the other, for a boundary to a Roman Province; as it was after upon the division betwixt the North and South. Nor is the name now utterly lost; for there is a River to this day flowing into the Head thereof, called *Derwent*; there is a House of considerable regard, called *Trentum*, and several Towns upon it ending in *Anton*, and of a sound little differing: now *Dwr*, or *Dour*, in *British* signifies Water; and so by vulgar contraction it might be *Dwrent* or *Trent*; that is, the Water of *Ent* for *Anton*. These are but conjectures, and we may have mistaken, because the evidence is not perspicuous; and I should not have made so many words hereof, but for the former, & some reasons following; and that it agrees better likewise with the History it self of the transactions upon these parts. But I will pursue this no further, it being not very much material which it was.

The *Iceni* being within this Line, did doubtless suspect they might be subjected at last after the *Romans* were at leisure to conquer them, as well as they had the rest, who were within that compass: To which purpose, those Rivers and Fortifications might be of great disadvantage, by hindering succours that might come from the North to their Aide, being all equally concerned at the Bondage now putting on them. Upon this, they Arm, and oppose their Fortifying, exciting several of their Neighbours to joyn with them, and choose a place to Incamp in. Behind there was a rude defence, and a strait passage was before it: But *Ostorius*, with those Cohorts only, the benefit of his Allies, and his Horse, fell in on their fortified side, which being made in hast, and without good direction, they easily pluck't down. Here the *Britains* also fought valiantly, but with ill success; and this their loss confirmed such to the *Roman* Peace, which before stood doubtful.

From these, he brings his Army to the *Cangi*; I guess they were a People that lived within the Line, and like enough were the Inhabitants betwixt the *Iceni* and the *Humber*; these he plunders and waists their Fields: It is likely they had been assisting to the *Iceni*, or had made former Inroads upon the *Roman* Quarters, and their Allies. Meeting no considerable opposition from them, he turns upon the back of the *Severne* toward the *Silures*, a People that Inhabited about South *Wales*, with whom he would fain have had a Peace, using all gentle and cruel means to that purpose: but they, partly trusting to the conduct of *Caractacus*, a Prince grown famous for his skill in martial affairs, and partly to their own courage, refused it. In his Marches, there appeared against him no considerable opposition; sometimes in small Parties the *Britains* would charge the Body, or some Wing of his Army; where loss was on both sides, but chiefly to the *Britains*.

He had not passed far, but the *Brigantes*, a People about *Lancashire*, and the North of *Trent* took Arms; upon which, suspecting what Inconvenience might be, in leaving an Enemy behind him in Arms, to disturb him, or his new Conquests, he turns, and before they could become considerable, some few that were up, being slain, the

the rest (upon his willingneſs to remit the Commotion) laid down their Arms, and went to their Homes. Whereupon he proſecutes again his Journey to the *Silures*, ſending in the mean time to the Colony at *Camalodunum* to come to him; whom he planted amongſt the lately Conquered, to the intent to reſtrain the attempts of thoſe, and of ſuch as were confederated with him, whom he had reaſon notwithstanding to ſuſpect.

Caractacus finding himſelf weak in the number of his Forces, compared to thoſe of the *Romans*; and knowing he was in his own Country, bounded on many ſides by the Sea, and *Severne*, and ſo conſequently leſs apt to be relieved, if he ſhould be ſtrained: while time ſerved, takes his March into North *Wales*, called then the Country of the *Ordovices*, a Place leſs ſubject to theſe Inconveniencies, in reſpect it had more ſpacious Room of retreat or flight in adverſe fortune; and more capacious, as the *Roman* Conqueſts then were, of joyning his Arms with thoſe of his Confederates, which accordingly afterwards he effected. *Oſtorius* follows him, and when he overtook him, found him reſolved, and prepared for Battail; having to that purpoſe choſen a ſpacious piece of Ground of advantage.

The ſcite of the Place was a declining Hill; upon the Skirts thereof were Rocks, and unpaſſable places, with ſome open; at the bottom a River croſs't it: within this he drew his Army up in Battalia, ſtopping the Avenues on the ſides with Stones, in the nature of a Rampart, and drawing a Line before it of the ſame Materials, and in like faſhion, ſuſpecting the Foard of the River. Before his main Battail, he places a Body of choice Men, in this Order expecting the Enemy. In the mean time, the chief Commanders of the ſeveral Nations paſſ't up and down amongſt their Forces, ſetting before them the advantages of a Victory, the miſeries of a Battail loſt; leſſening the cauſes of fear, and encreaſing thoſe of hopes, beyond a juſt meaſure, to the intent their minds might be fortified againſt the apprehenſion of danger; and with other Arts, that Generals in the like caſes uſe. And *Caractacus* eſpecially paſſing with quick motion up and down the Army, did excellently perform that part of a General; being brief, but

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very eloquent in his Language, and of undaunted resolutions. This he told them was the day, and this the Battail that must either recover or determine their Liberties; calling frequently upon the names of their noble Progenitors, who had driven *Cæsar* their Dictator out of their Country; thereby delivering them in their Lives, their Estates, Wives and Children, from the violence of the *Roman* ferocity. With these Speeches the Army was much encouraged, and to testify and encrease their resolutions, they make solemn Vows and Oaths not to yield to wounds or Darts.

On the other side, the *Roman* General, by the report of *Tacitus*, was somewhat apprehensive of the Scite of the place; to him of great disadvantage, but the Souldiery and chief Officers knowing the difficulty, was greatest in coming to the naked *Britains*, and that inconsiderable, despised their rude fortifications, and a River fordable in many places; and thereupon quickning the General, they pass the River by his Command, approaching to the fortification: at which place the *Britains* had the advantage in the Fight at a distance, for the *Romans* throwing heavy Piles up the Hill, and those lighter down, it might follow, that these had the greater slaughter, though their Bodies were exceeding well armed, especially such doubtless, who made the first assault. But the *Romans* making a Testudo, which was a defence of Tarquets, hanging over one another, like Tiles on a House toward the Enemy; under the protection thereof, they approacht the works, and pluckt down the ill-built Wall, and so entred. And now the *Britains* coming to fight hand to hand, having neither Helmet nor Arms on their Bodies, were forc'd to retire, which they did upwards to the top of the Hill; but the *Romans* following, had also the better there; several flying away, and others being taken: amongst which, was the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus*, and his Brethren also yielded themselves: but *Caractacus* himself escaped, and fled to *Cartismandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, who afterwards betrayed him unworthily to the *Romans*, who frequently made use of such treacherous dealings: and *Tacitus* himself, though in advantageous language to the *Roman* glory,

ry, does acknowledge by this kinde of means, and by exasperating and provoking one Prince against another, they had no small advantage of these Nations. Whereas if they had been unanimous in their Councils, had chosen the right way of managing this War, under a prudent General; which was that which the famous *Cassibelan* intended, on his experience with a flying Army; to which their way of living on Cattle was advantageous, they might have rendered the *Roman* Conquests vain: But it fell out other ways, as it might reasonably be expected from distracted Councils; for trusting to the nature of the ground, and the weaker fortifications, their great strength, and undaunted courage came to nothing. *Caratacus*, with his Wife, Daughters and Brothers were sent to *Rome*, together with many more, and several of the spoils taken. And to the intent *Claudius* might have the greater glory himself, being the Author and Maintainer of this War, as he had also been the Actor in it some time, they were publicly brought before him, sitting in great State, his Wife *Agripina* being formally placed by him; and contrivement on all hands to magnifie the Victory to please the Emperour.

Caratacus at his presentment before the Tribunal, with an undaunted mind in this his Adversity, spake to this effect. *If I had carried my self with a moderation in my Prosperity, equal to the Quality of my Birth and Fortune, I might rather now have come to this City as a Friend than Captive; neither would You have thought unworthily of a Peace made with one descended of ancient and Royal blood, and commanding many Nations. My present Condition is to Me unhappy, to You glorious. I had Horses, Men, Arms, and Wealth; no wonder if I was unwilling to lose them: If You will command all things, it follows that all must obey. If I had presently submitted, neither My Fortune, nor Your Glory had been so Remarkable, and My Afflictions had quickly been Forgotten: but if You shew Me Mercy, I shall live to the Eternal Memory of Thy Clemency. Caesar being taken with his behaviour, pardons him, his Wife and Brothers, and causes their Irons to be taken off: upon which they reverence*

the Emperor and Empress, with many praises and grateful acknowledgments; Men commending the shew, and comparing it to what was seen, when *Scipio* shew'd *Syphax* and *L. Paulus Perſes* to the *Roman* People, did declare it an equal Spectacle: and to *P. Ostorius* the Ornaments of a Triumph were directed.

The success of this Battail had a various event, for it begat carelesness in the *Romans*, and in the *Britains*, as it did closer Counsels, so also a more eager mind of Revenge; to which was added a report bruited up and down, said to be spoken by the *Roman* General, that as in times past, the *Sugambri* were expelled their Country, and carried into *Gallia*; so the very name of the *Silures* should be utterly extinguish'd. But being at last well aware of the inequality of their defensive Arms, they resolve to try no more the event of a set Battail, but to take those advantages, which they had of the knowledge of their Country, and with their active motion, to seize on such opportunities, as offered themselves from the *Roman* carelesness.

The first that happened was this, the Camp-master (being left behind, with a few Cohorts to fortifie certain places in the Country of the *Silures*) they fall upon, and enclose them; and had not succour come from the neighbouring Towns and Garrisons, they had been all utterly cut off. The Camp-master notwithstanding, and eight Centurions, (of the quality of Captains now with us) together with the most forward Souldiers were slain. Not long after this, they set upon the forragers, and together with them, put certain Horsemen, sent to their rescue, to flight. *Ostorius* sends before hand several of his Foot, lightly armed, to stay the pursuit, whom the *Britains* also beat and chase, until the more heavy Armed came up: upon that remarkable disadvantage, the *Britains* first stay, and then retreat with small loss, the rather, because the Day was almost spent. This way of fighting succeeding well, they continue it, making frequent Sallies out of the Woods and Bogs, (in those Days here being very many) as opportunity served. Encouraged with booty and success, and inflamed with rage to see their Native Soyl a Prey to greedy

greedy and unjust Usurpers: doing much mischief to their Enemies, confirming their friends, and gaining fresh; which they procured by Spoils and Captives, frequently sent as Presents.

The third considerable blow they gave the *Romans*, was upon two Cohorts; they were Auxiliaries, and intercepted; foraging too greedily and carelessly by the avarice of their Commanders; but paid dear for it. These occurrences, together with the care of the War, if they did not break the heart of *Ostorius*, yet they did at least the more speedily end his Days: at which the *Britains* did please themselves, as being a Commander not to be contemned.

A. Didius succeeds.

D*idius* was sent by *Cæsar* to supply his place, a Man aged, and careful of his reputation. When he came, he understood of another disaster befell a *Roman* Legion in the late Interval which *Maulius Valens* commanded: This was magnified by the *Britains*, to the intent they might encourage their Friends, and discountenance their Enemies. And *Didius* did not endeavour to silence the report, supposing that which way so ever the chance fell, it might be to him of advantage: If he conquered, the honour was the greater; if not, the disgrace the less, and the danger also, under a Prince full of unconstant and violent humours.

The *Silures* all this while making great depredations, where the *Romans* had an Intrest; after the taking of *Caratacus*; *Venutius*, *e Ingantum civitate*, says *Tacitus*, commanded in chief (unless it should be meant the *Brigantes* Country, which I suspect I am at a loss to guess where his birth was; but I doubt that, because there must be too great error in the transcribers, perhaps it might be some petty State, &c. remembered at this day) having married *Cartismandua*, the Q. of the *Brigantes*, the Traytorefs to her Country, he continued, while affection was betwixt them, obsequious to the *Romans*, she having allied her self strictly with them: but unkindnesses

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arising, by reason of her want of Faith to his Bed ; at first they fell out betwixt themselves only ; in which contest, by craft she had subtilly intercepted the Brother, and neer relations of *Venutius*, having assumed *Velocatus* his Armour-bearer to her embraces. Her Husband being the more inflamed at this, gathers a considerable Force, and intending to give her Battail, the *Romans* send her relief. The contest was sharp and doubtful for a while, but at last did encline to *Cartismandua*. *Cæsius Nasica* commanding a Legion, at another time and place had also in another fight somewhat the better : but *Didius* could do no more than just keep what he had got, and that not without great disturbance.

Veranius succeeds : and him Paulinus Suetonius, with some few others.

V*eranius* came after him in equal command and success, and dyed immediatly upon it. And him *Paulinus Suetonius* succeeded. The Isle *Mona*, now called *Anglesey*, was a Capital place amongst the *Ordovices*, as being the Seat of the *Druids*, and stored with wealth, because many had fled thither with a great part of their substance, as to a Place of security, being made an Island by an Arm of the Sea, and not easily passable : he thereupon designs to Invade it ; for his Foot, he prepares flat bottomed Boats, in which he transported them, depending most upon the stability of the Legionaries : the Horse followed, sometimes foarding it, and sometimes swimming upon the Shoar. The *Britains* had placed their Battail, and were numerous ; the Women, their Hair hanging loose, with Fire-brands in their Hands, passing up and down, and the *Druids* with their Hands lifted up to Heaven, did pour forth many bitter execrations. At this Novelty, the *Roman* Souldiery at first seemed to have had some Consternation, but after a while, the Commander in Chief encouraging them, and they also animating one another, with

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Exhortations to this purpose. That they should not be daunted at the sight of Women, and Phanatick Men, they advanced and charged the *Britains*: who not appointed with an equal advantage to resist them, suddenly fled; of whom they threw divers into certain Fires made hard by. This done, he plants Garrisons amongst them, and to the intent, they might be less subject to sudden Incurfions, causes their Woods to be cut down.

As *Suetonius* was in the Island about settling his Conquests, there was News brought to him of a revolt of the Province; the occasion that then offered it self was this: *Prasutagus*, Prince of the *Iceni* dyed, leaving behind him great store of wealth, and intending to secure his House, makes *Cesar* his heir, with his two daughters: But this would not prevent the barbarous Lust and Covetousness of the *Romans*, for they plundered his House, ravished his two Daughters, whipt his Wife *Boadicia*: The chiefest of the Nobility were turned out of their Inheritances, and the Royal Family accounted as Slaves. These Villanies committed in a Licentious and Insolent manner, did move very much, not only the *Iceni*, but their Neighbours the *Trinobantes*, as yet not having lost their ancient courage, though they had been reduced into the form of a Province, and thereupon they hold secret Counsels, with an intent to revenge themselves, and if it were possible, to put off that Yoak, which the greedy *Romans* had imposed. Their hatred was most bitter against the *Veterans* at *Camalodunum*, in the Colony there, (this *Camalodunum* was the now *Maldon* in *Essex*, as is supposed) because they had thrust the ancient Inhabitants out of their Houses and Inheritances, calling them Captives and Slaves.

There was a Temple built, and dedicated therein to *Claudius*: to the Solemn Rites belonging thereunto, were divers Priests appointed, who under Colour of Religion, did most greedily devour the Substance of the Neighbouring *Britains*: to their Aggravations was added an opportune Season, (to wit) the *Roman* General was absent, with a considerable part of the Army, and the Town was but ill fortified, by the carelessness of the *Roman* Officers. These accidents fell out a little before the Attempt: the

Image of Victory at *Camalodunum* fell down, and turned backwards; Women did sing of Destruction, as if they had been Inspired; Howling and Noises were heard in the Theatre and Court; in the Arm of the Sea, not far distant, was seen a strange Apparition, and upon the ebbe, the Bodies of dead Men on the Shoar, which occasioned a great terror to the *Romans*, and comfortable expectations to the *Britains*.

The *Veterans*, because *Suetonius* was far absent, sent to *C. Decianus*, a Procurator for Ayde, but he furnish't them with only two hundred, and those ill appointed: So there being not many Souldiers in the Town, the Chief of their dependance was on the strength of their Temple. In this their distraction, *Boadicia* Commander in Chief of the design, valiantly sets upon them, repaying their cruelty in a just retribution of fury and revenge. Most of the Souldiers were got into the Temple, where for two Days they continue, and then it was forced with great Slaughter. The *Britains* in the current of their Success, march out, and meet *P. Cerealis*, with the ninth Legion, and certain Horse coming to the Succour of the *Veterans*, and fight them, routing all, and destroying the Foot; but the Horse fly with *Cerealis* into the Camp, and there secure themselves within the Fortifications. *Cains* a Procurator hearing of this Slaughter, and his Avarice in the Province, which had caused him to be hated, coming fresh into his mind, he thought it convenient for himself to fly, and accordingly pass't into *Gallia*, as a Place of greater safety for such a hatefull memory as he had.

Suetonius hearing of these things, hastens his return, and with an honourab'e resolution, Marches through the *Britain* Quarters to *London*; a Place then famous for Merchandise, and plenty of Provisions. Here he consults, whether it were good for him to make that the Seat of War, or not: but considering among other Reasons, his Number was not great, he resolved to march out, and could not be perswaded to stay, by the Importunacy, Cries and Prayers of such, as either Age, or Weakness of Sex, or a delight to the Place had urged to a stay; resolving rather to adventure this Town, though of Concernment, then to
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put a general hazard on the whole *Roman* Interest, where-upon he marches out, several going with him, the rest staying behind, who without mercy were after by the Enemy put to the Sword. The same fate fell upon *Verulam*, a Town favoured by the *Romans*, in their Liberties; in this heat of revenge, they destroyed in the places before mentioned, and thereabouts, at the least seventy thousand *Romans*, and their Confederates, giving no quarter, but executing them with various deaths, giving a full draught of vengeance for their barbarous covetousness, and savage Lust.

Suetonius having with him about ten thousand Men, which consisted of Legionaries, Auxiliaries and Horse, and observing the Resolutions of the Enemy, and that he could not long avoid a Battail, if they would force him to it, very prudently takes in good time the advantage of an excellent place to his purpose, and waits the coming of the *Britains*. In the entrance it was strait, and encompassed with Woods, and he knew the Enemy was before, upon a Plain, where they could lay no Embascodo. His Legionaries upon expectation of a Battail, were close set together; on each Wing were the Horse, and the light Armed with missive Weapons placed round about. The *Britains* transported with their late success, and not enough aware of the disadvantage of a set-Battail, though they had formerly, and their Ancestors sad experience of it, would notwithstanding fight them upon these unequal terms; for too great joy, and a passion of revenge, do equally, as well as fear, betray the Reason. *Suetonius*, as was said, had chosen an excellent Place, and put his Men in admirable Order, considering the quality of his own Souldiers, and those of the *Britains*; for the Legionaries being close plac'd, incapable of being surrounded, could meet with no more Enemies at one time, then they themselves were in number; and then being well Armed, the other naked, without some extraordinary contingency, these must yield: nor could a Victory be expected other ways to the *Britains*, then either by some Stratagem, great Error by the *Romans*, or having a vast number of Men, by such an opposition and slaughter of themselves, as can

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hardly be imagined any Men can endure.

Boadicia did appear in the Head of a vast Army with great confidence, but without good Discipline; such was their vanity also, that many of their Wives were brought and plac'd in a kind of Coaches on the Skirts of the Battail, in confidence to see the Slaughter of the *Romans*. The Queen her self passing up and down with her Daughters in a Chariot, amongst the Forces, discoursing to them to this purpose: that now she did not contend for a Kingdom and Wealth, but as one of the meanest, to recover and defend their Liberties, to revenge the barbarous Injuries committed upon her Body, and the chastity of her Daughters. That the *Roman* Lust was grown to such a pitch, that they neither spared Virgins nor Matrons; that the Gods who were Revengers of such horrible Impieties were present; the Legion that durst give Battail was slain, the others are either hid, or secure themselves in Fortifications: she puts them in mind also of their number, and of the cause of the War, and concludes with an Exhortation to die with honour, rather than live in Slavery: for her own part, this was the Resolution of a Woman, the Men might live, if they pleased, in the condition of Slaves.

On the other hand *Suetonius* uses all Art, and mixes Exhortations with his good Conduct: he puts them in mind, that the Victory in most Battails, takes its rise from a very few, and therefore they should not be daunted at the apprehension of the smallness of their number, compared to that of the *Britains*; their glory would be the greater in a Victory, by the mention of that odds; but indeed many of the great number were Women; and above all, puts them in mind, how well they were Armed, how naked the *Britains* were, and what their success had been heretofore upon such advantage; desiring them first to throw their Piles, which was a kind of heavy Dart, peculiar to the *Romans*, and carryed by the Legionaries; and then to follow their work, with their Swords and their Pikes in their Shields, not regarding the Spoil, till the danger was over, for where it falls, there it will be found by them after the Victory.

The *Britains* could not forbear, but must charge them rashly in this place of disadvantage, which the Enemy received

ceived without motion, while they were spending their missive Weapons; but immediatly after they Sallied out, and coming to a close Fight, easily made the naked People give way and fly. Their Battail was surrounded with Waggon, so that they had great hinderance in the Flight, whereby the Slaughter was encreased; the insolent and barbarous among the *Romans*, spared neither Sex nor Age, Man nor Beast, destroying neer eighty thousand People. *Boadicia*, upon the sight hereof, with a courage mixt with the sense of a Calamity already come, and to be expected, put a period to her days by poyson, and prevented the future *Roman* Cruelties.

And *Panius Posthumus*, Camp-master of the second Legion, hearing of this Victory, and being conscious to himself, he had not done well in refusing to obey the Generals Order of being here at this Battail with that Legion, fell upon his Sword and dyed.

After this, the Army kept the Field, and *Nero*, who was now Emperour, sent them as a recruit, two thousand Legionary Souldiers out of *Germany*, eight Cohorts of Auxiliaries, and one thousand Horse: The Nations which were either doubtful or Enemies, were wasted with Fire and Sword, but nothing did more afflict this distressed People than Famine, the *Romans* having secured all that they could get, and burnt and destroyed the rest. *Julius Clascianus* was sent to supply the Office of *Cato*, with whom *Suetonius* had some clashes, and that did somewhat obstruct the Intendments of several Nations to submit to a Peace; for he gave it out, that a new Governor was to be sent, who would treat the People with more moderation, and sent word to *Rome*, that nothing could be expected of good to the *Roman* affairs in *Britain*, until a new Lieutenant was sent, laying all the fault of ill success on the frowardness of *Suetonius*, and all the good on the *Roman* fortune; thereupon *Polycletus* a freed Man, was sent into *Britain* from *Rome*, to have an Inspection into affairs; hereupon a great expectation from *Nero*, that he would not only reconcile the discords among the *Romans*, but also dispose the *Britains* to a Peace. He came over with a great Army, but it seemed very ridiculous to the *Britains*

that a Slave should command those that had made so great a Conquest.

Not long after *Suetonius* was recall'd, upon an accident of some loss at Sea which he had sustained, and *Petronius Turpilianus* sent in his room, a Man of an unactive spirit, and in whose time, all the care was to continue and encrease that peace, which *Suetonius* had left the Country in.

Him *Trebellius Maximus* succeeded, unexpert for War, and unfit for action: it fell out in the time of Peace, after the late great Slaughter, the *Britains* having a deep sense of it, that the *Romans* in *Britany* being without an Enemy, whereof they might be afraid, began to disagree one with another. *Roscius Calius* Lieutenant of the Twentieth Legion, quarrelled with the Governor, objecting to him his Covetousness, and the other to him his Faction, and by these Accidents, the Legions grew mutinous, and siding with *Roscius Calius*, drove *Trebellius* out of the Country, and for some time the under Officers governed the Army, wherein *R. Calius* had the chiefest Interest, as being of the boldest nature.

Vettius Bolanus was by *Vitellius* the Emperor sent some time after to succeed him, a Man of whom it might be said, that he was not hated for any Crime, and being withall good natured, he did procure to himself, rather Love than Obedience.

Petilius Cerealis came next, a Man of a more warlike disposition, who gave a considerable disturbance to the Nation of the *Brigantes*, and made some Conquests upon them. *Julius Frontinus* did something of the like nature upon the *Silures*, and him succeeded *Agricola*.

Agricola

Agricola's Undertakings and Conquests.

Agricola pass the Seas, and came into *Britain* in the midst of *Summer*; when he was here, he found the *Ordovices* had lately cut almost wholly to peeces a party quartered in their Country: Whereupon he summons in many of the Legionaries, and some Auxiliaries scattered in their Quarters, through the whole Province, (the *Romans* not before supposing there would be any Action that *Summer*, the *Winter* drawing on) and with a considerable Body, marches into the Country of the *Ordovices*: here he made great Spoil, revenging the Cruelty lately done upon the *Romans*, with an extraordinary and *British* severity, to the greatest part of the Nation, (which *Tacitus* his Son in Law does not positively deny: and I fear me not upon the valiant (for they were unwilling to descend out of the Woods and Fastnesses, into places where they were to Fight the *Romans*, upon so great terms of disadvantage, as they had lately another fresh experiment) but upon the Women, Children, and more tender People.

Paulinus, as was said before, was recall'd out of *Mona* the Isle of *Anglesey*, and it should seem, had not there so perfected his business, but that *Agricola* thought it might be matter of profit to the *Romans*, and honour to himself, to confirm the Conquest; whereupon he marches next way thither, and wanting Ships, upon so suddain a Resolution, he contrives to Swim and Foard over that narrow Water, which makes an Island of it, distinct from the other Country of *Wales*, with his Auxiliaries accustomed to such Services. The People remembering their former misery, and how that if they could not withstand the *Romans*, when they had a less apprehension of them, they were not likely when they had enlarged their Province; without disputing so much as their passage, Surrendred the Island to the mercy of those, that they could not probably resist, with hopes of success.

The *Winter* following, he contrives to secure what was gained, and among other of his Resolutions, two he did
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take of especial benefit to the *Roman* Peace; the one was in the Tributes and Exactions upon the *Britains*: he took care that there should be an equality, and corrected all those petty Oppressions, in the collecting them, which usually are more grievous, than the burden it self: and as to the *Roman* Army, he made Election of Officers, according to Merit, and not by Bribes, and affection, and recommendation, whereby he rendered it very considerable for the next Expedition.

Summer being come, he assembles them together, and first in discourses, intermixing commendations and chidings, as they had done well or ill, takes afterwards his march, from one Country to another, up and down those Places, which were either not as yet Conquered, or would not willingly submit to Conditions; making great destruction. When the *Summer* was almost spent, he courts them with good words, and forbearance of Acts of Hostility, into terms of Peace, which they willingly at last accepted; the Game inclining altogether on the *Roman* side: So a Peace is made with them, Hostages are given on the *Britains* part, for the security thereof, and several Garrisons planted on their Borders, with great Judgment, which became a strait and many a bridle to the *Britains*.

The *Winter* following, he made a greater Conquest, then he had done the *Summer* before, but it was of a different nature. The *Britains* divided into petty Nations, had frequent Wars one upon another. So that Houses of value to have been built, would have been ridiculous, seeing in the frequency of their Wars, they could not have long stood free from Fire; and thereupon many other blamishments, as of Gardens, and Orchards, &c. were neglected likewise. Their thoughts being active, and not taken up with these things, would be with somewhat else, and nothing was more obvious than the matter of War, whereto they gave their minds upon some necessity also, and in that Military Discipline, which was proper for petty Nations, in Woody and Boggy Country, as this then was; They were excellent in Art, and well fitted with strong, resolute and hardy Bodies. *Agricola* did not much fear an open Invasion, from a People weak by their Divisions,

sions, and naked; and amongst whom there were many Trayterous to their Country, even Princes themselves corrupted by the *Romans*: yet he might expect great disturbance in parties out of the Woods, which would much obstruct the quiet of the Country, and might destroy the Fruits of the Land.

Hereupon he gets together about him many of the chief Nobility, commending to them the pleasure and delight of a civil life in fine Buildings, neat Cloaths, Comptness of Language; which some affecting naturally, and others the rather to please the General, do observe and follow. Some distast these things, whom he disgraces and villifies; but the other he commends, and gives them encouragement, by granting assistance thereunto. By these means he softened the Nation, and made them more lyable to the Impressions of the *Roman* steel upon all disturbances; And of Consequence, rendred their Province more secure.

The next *Summer* he spent in a March Northwardly, Conquering several Nations, (that is to say) destroying their Country, and killing many where he met them, or they would attempt to set upon either his Army, or a party thereof, but this was sparingly done; for whether the *Britains* were terrified at the apprehensions of the *Romans*, or this so great an Army, or that they had experimented a plain Field insufficiently to their sorrow already, or that they hoped to protract the War till *Winter*, expecting then to make use of the advantage they had, by their light Arming; or for some, or all these Reasons, they never attempted to joyn their Forces, and to give Battail, but divided in Woods, and Bogs, and places inaccessible; make now and then some Incursions on the *Romans*, but with no considerable effect: and he foreseeing their thoughts prevented their attempts designed for *Winter*, by fortifying diverse Castles among them; which was done with excellent Judgment, as to the choice of the scite of the places, and great Art as to the Model, and stored them with a twelve Months Provision before hand: so that what he gained by a strong hand, he kept by prudent Managements. In this Expedition, he pass't beyond the Borders of *Scotland*, that now is, to a Water called *Taus*, beyond

Bodotria. The next *Winter* the *Britains* assaulted several of these Castles, and made some Incursions into the *Roman* Quarters; but little mischief was done.

The fourth *Summer* was spent in securing what was gained, and more especially that narrow entrance into the further part of *Scotland*, lying between *Gloria* and *Bodotria*, two Arms of the opposite Seas; they are now called *Dun Britten* and *Edenburgh* friths, which he did with Castles and Forts, as if having enlarged the Province, he desired to make it the bounds of the *Romane* Empire that way.

But the fifth *Summer* he pass'd beyond it, turning on his left hand, making several Conquests of Countrys bordering on *Ireland*, and placed many Souldiers therein, affecting a Conquest of that Island also: receiving to this purpose a Prince of that Country, come out upon private dissensions then amongst themselves; to whom he was courteous, with an intent to make such use of him, as the *Romans* had done with several others in *Britain* heretofore, (that is to say) to betray their Native Countries, to the pride and Luxury of the *Romans*; for at this time they were fallen from their ancient Virtue; though *Agricola* himself had some more than ordinary sparks left.

But the sixth *Summer*, his thoughts were taken up by a diversion on his right hand; for the *Britains* beyond *Bodotria* intending to assault the Garrisons, and divert his course, had already begun to make some attempts, by seizing the Passes, and assailing certain Castles. *Agricola* for his further security mann'd that *Summer* a considerable Fleet, which was of great use to him in his passage into the Country; for his March was by the Sea side, and his sailing not far from the Land. So that frequently the Souldiers both of the Navy and Army met, and were in many respects very useful the one to the other.

Agricola suspecting the *Britains* might have advantage upon him in number, divided his Army into three Parts, making his March with some Considerable distances, thereby thinking to prevent his being encompassed with a multitude: a manifest error doubleless against a new Enemy, whose valour he had not yet try'd, as appeared by the
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Consequence, though he might guess shrewdly at them, by what he had found in the rest; for which *Tacitus* makes an excuse that he had heard the *Britains* were divided into Parties, and did intend so to set upon him. They taking this advantage in the dead of the Night, set upon the Ninth Legion, being somewhat weak of it self, and with good success; for they kill the Watch, enter the Camp, and therein Fight it manfully with the *Romans*; and had in all probability cut them off, if *Agricola* having notice of this accidentally by his Scouts, had not sent the lighter-Armed with all expedition before hand to their succour, and followed himself with the Legions. When the Battail was at last before and behind, the *Britains*, after a bloody Fight in the entrance of the Camp, the Day appearing, and the Legions also fled into the Woods. *Tacitus* tells us that, at the beginning of the *Summer*, several of his Officers upon a report of the Power of the Enemy, did advise him to retreat within the bounds of the formerly intended Province for his security, suspecting very much the danger; but after this Victory, the very same did chiefly arrogate to themselves the glory of that battle; an infirmity common to many Men of that disposition to this day.

The *Britains* with a noble resolution did attribute the loss of this day, not to the valour, but craft and fortune of the *Roman* General. With this conceit they make very much greater Preparations, confederate themselves by Solemn Rites, and convey their Wives and Children into places of safety, intending in a Field to try their fortune again with their new-raised Forces.

The *Britains* had thirty thousand Men designed for the main Battail, besides many young and old Volunteers, who out of an honourable resolution came to partake in the fortune of a Day; over whom, *Galgacus* of great descent and virtue, to be mentioned not without honour to his name, commanded in Chief. They took up their ground upon the declining of the Hill *Grampius*, now *Grants-bain*; the first Battail stood upon the Plain, the Chariots and Horse passing up and down with great noise before the Battail, expecting the *Romans*.

The *Romans* having sent their Fleet before, by frequent and uncertain Landings, as they did some other mischief, so they could not but make some distraction upon the *Britains*: but at last *Agricola* takes his March directly to them that were prepar'd to receive him, having with him certain of the Country, whose faith and courage was a long time known to be truer to the *Romans*, than to their own Nation. His Battail he orders thus, eight thousand Auxiliaries were placed in a Body, and in the Van; on each Wing three thousand Horse were divided, in the Rear his Legionaries were; the whole Front being extended beyond a just and usual proportion: *Agricola* thinking thereby to prevent surrounding by the Enemy which over-numbered him.

The Speech of *Calgacus*, as it is delivered by *Tacitus*, is to this purpose. When I consider the cause of this War, and our necessity, I am greatly confident, this day, and this your consent will give a happy beginning to the freedom of the whole Island. We all have hitherto lived in Liberty; and moreover, no Land remaineth beyond, and no Sea for our safety, the *Roman* Navy, thus as you see, hanging on our Coasts; So that Arms, which Men of virtue desire for honour, the faint-hearted must also use for his security. The former Battalls, which have with divers events been fought against the *Romans*, had their hope and reserves in our hands: For we, the choice of the *British* Nobility, and seated in the furthestmost recesses, never yet had view of the enslaved shoares, nor were our eyes offended with the sight of subjection. This inward bosome hath defended us, the boundary of Land and Liberty for this Day of Glory. Now the uttermost point of the Country is laid open, and things, the less they have been within knowledge, the greater the glory is to achieve them. What Nation is there now beyond us, what else but Water and Rocks, and the *Romans* Lords of all within; whose intollerable pride, in vain shall you seek to avoid by service or submits demeanour; Robbers of the World, that having now left no Land to plunder, search also the Sea it self. If the Enemy be rich, they are greedy of his wealth; if poor, they covet glory: whom not the East nor

nor West have satisfied: they only of all Men, with equal lust affecting riches and vanity. To rob, kill, and commit rapine, falsely they terme Empire; and when they have brought desolation to a Country, they call it Peace. Children, and neer Relations, every Man by nature holdeth most dear, and those are pressed for Souldiers, and carryed away to serve in a slavish condition: Sisters and Wives, though they may escape an open ravishment, are notwithstanding frequently prostituted when they come as Guests, and pretend friendship. The goods and substance of the Conquered they exhaust with Tributes, and rob them of their Corn to supply their Garrisons, wearying out their Hands and Bodies in preparing Woods and Fenny places for their purposes, with a thousand stripes and indignities. Slaves which are born to bondage when they are once sold, are after maintained at their Masters expences: but *Britain* daily buyeth her own bondage, and is at the charge of continuing it. Now as in a private retinue, the fresh man and last comer is most abused by his very fellow-servants: So in this old servitude of the World, our destruction is sought being the latest, and is most vile in account. We have no Fields to manure, no Mines to be digged, no Ports to trade in, and to what purpose then should they reserve us alive? Moreover the man-hood and fierce courage of the Subject pleaseth not much the jealous Sovereign: and this corner being so secret, and out of the way, the more security it yieldeth to us, in them it works the greater suspicion. So seeing all hope of pardon is past, at length all of you take courage, as well these to whom safety, as such to whom glory is in greatest esteem. The *Britains* led by a Woman, fired the *Obolony*, forced the Castles; and if such a lucky beginning had not ended in sloath and security, they might have with ease shak't off the Yoak. We as yet never touched, never subdued; and born to be free, not to be Slaves to the *Romans*: let us shew streight in the first joyning what manner of Men *Caledonia* reserved in store for her self. Or, do you think the *Romans* to be as valiant in War, as they are wanton in Peace? No, not by their virtue, but by our discords they are grown into fame: and the faults of their Enemies they

abuse, to the glory of their own Army, composed of most divers Nations: and therefore as by the present prosperity holden together, so if fortune do frown, it doubtless dissolveth them; unless you suppose the *Galls* and *German*s, and to our shame be it spoken, many of our own Nation, which now lend their lives to establish forreign Usurpation; yet have been Enemies longer than Servants, to be led and induced with any true faith and affection. No, it is terror and fear, weak procurers of love, which if you remove, those which shall have ceased to be afraid, will strait begin to hate. All things that do incite to the Victory are on our side. No Wife to encourage the *Romans*, no Parents to upbraide them if they flee; most have either no Country at all, or some other: a few fearfull Persons trembling, and gazing at the strangeness of the Heaven it self, the Sea, and the Woods; whom the Gods have delivered, mewed up, and as it were fettered into our hands. Let not the vain shew, and glittering of Gold and Silver terrify us: which neither defends nor offendeth amongst the Enemies. We shall finde assistance on our side: The *Britains* will own their own cause, the *Galls* will remember their former freedome, the rest of the *German*s will leave and forsake them, as of late the *Uspians* did. And what else have we then to fear? The Castles are empty, the Colonies peopled with Aged and impotent Persons, the free Cities discontent, and in factions, whilst those which are under obey, with ill-will; and they which do Govern, rule against right. Here is the General, and here the Army; there Tributes and Mines, and other miseries inseparably following them, who live under subjection of others: which whether we are to continue for ever, or straight to revenge it, lyeth this day in this Field. Wherefore going to Battail, bear in your minds, I beseech you, both your Ancestors, and your Posterity.

Which whether it be the Production only of the Authors brain, or that much of it was said, it matters not; however, I think the memory of it is not remembered here amiss. The Speech was received by a various noise of Songs and Acclamations.

Agricola's

Agricola's is thus delivered: fellow Souldiers and Companions in Arms, your faithful Service and diligence these eight years so painfully shew'd, by the virtue and fortune of the *Roman* Empire hath Conquered *Britain*. In so many Journeys, in so many Battails we had of necessity to shew our selves either valiant against the Enemy, or patient and laborious almost against Nature it self. In which exploits we have born us both hitherto, so that neither did I desire better Souldiers, nor you other Captain. We have exceeded the limits, I of my Predecessors, and you likewise of yours. The end of *Britain* is found, not by fame and report, but we are with our Arms and Pavilions really invested thereof, *Britany* is found and subdued. In Marching, when the passing of Boggs or Mountains, and Rivers troubled and tired you out, how oft have I heard the valiant Souldier say? When will the Enemy shew himself, when shall we Fight? see now they are before you, you have here your wishes, and a place for your virtue to be shewn in, and all things to follow in an easie and expedite course if you win; if you loose, all against you. For as to have gone so much ground, escaped the Woods, passed over the Firthes, is honourable forward; so if we do flee the vantage, we have this day will become our chief hurt. For we are not skilled so well in the Countrys, we have not the like store of Provision, but Hands we have and Weapons, and therein all things included. For my part, I have been long since resolved, that to shew their backs, is neither safety for Souldier nor General: and therefore a commendable death is better, than life with reproach; and surety and honour are commonly dwelling together: or if ought should misshappen, even this will be a glory, to have died in the uttermost end of the World and nature. If new Nations and Souldiers unknown were in the Field, I would by the examples of other Arms put you in courage: now recount you your own victorious exploits, and ask your own eyes. These are the same Men which the last year assailed one Legion by stealth in the night, and were with small work overthrown: These of all other *Britains* have been the most nimble in running away, and therefore have esca-

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ped the longest alive. For as in Forrests and Woods the strongest Beasts are chased away by main force, the cowardly and fearfull are frighted by the noise of the Hunters. So the valiant of the *British* Nation we have already dispatched, the timerous and most inconsiderable only remain; whom at length you have found, not as having intended to stay and make Head, but at last overtaken, and by extream passion of fear standing as stocks presenting occasion to us in this place of a worthy and memorable Victory. Make an end therefore of your warfare, and to fifty years travels, let this day impose a glorious conclusion: approve to your Country that the Army could never justly be charged either with protracting the War, or pretences for not accomplishing the Conquest. This was received with great Alacrity.

The Battail it self also, because it does consummate the Conquest of this Island, and is by *Tacitus* not only excellently, but very indifferently described, take also from him. *Agricola* leaving his Horse, advanced himself before the Ensigns of Foot: In the first encounter, before joyning, both sides discharged, and threw their missive Weapons: wherein the *Britains* employing both Art and Valour, with their great Swords and little Targets avoided our throws, or shook them off, darting withall great store of theirs against us: till at length *Agricola* spying his advantage, exhorted three Batavian Cohorts, and two of the Tungrians to press forward, and bring the matter to a close Fight, (a thing which they in respect of long service were able readily to perform, and contrarily to the Enemies prejudicial) and hurtful by reason of their little Bucklers and huge Swords; for the Swords of the *Britains* being blunt pointed, were no way fit for close or open Fight. Now as the *Batavians* began to strike with their Swords, and thrust with the Pikes of their Bucklers, to mangle their Faces, and (having over-born in the Plain all that resisted them,) to March up the Mountains, the rest of the Cohorts gathering courage, upon emulation, violently beat down all about them, and many half dead, or wholly untouched, were left, for hast of winning the Field. In the mean time the Chariots mingled themselves with the Battail

Battel of the Footmen, and the Troops of the Horsemen began to flee: who, albeit they had lately terrified others, were now distressed themselves by the unevenness of the ground, and thick Forces of their Enemies. Neither was the form of the Fight like a loose Skirmish of Horsemen to and fro, but standing still, and maintaining their places, they fought by main weight of Horses to break and bear down one another. The wandering Waggon also, and masterless Horses, afrighted as it hapned them by fear to be guided, overbare many which met them, or thwarted their way. Now the *Britains* which stood aloof from the Battel, on the height of the Hills, and at their good leisure disdaining our fewness, began to come down by little and little, and to compass about the backs of our men, which were now in probable expectation of winning the Field. But *Agricola*, suspecting as much, opposed against them four Wings of Horsemen, purposely retained about him for sudden dispatches & chances of War, and repulsed them back as sharply, as fiercely they ran to assail. So the Counsel of the *Britains* turned upon their own heads: and the Wings were commanded to forsake the Battel, and follow the flight. Then might you have seen in the open fields a great & horrid spectacle, pursuing, wounding, taking, and killing of them which were taken, when others came in the way. Now whole Regiments of the Enemies, according to their several dispositions, though Armed, and more in number, turned their backs to the fewer others unarmed, and sought their own death, offering themselves voluntarily to the slaughter. Every where Weapons lay scattered, and Bodies, and mangled Limbs; the Ground every where imbrued with Blood, and sometimes, even in them which were overcome, appeared now at their end both Anger and Valour. When they approached the Woods, uniting themselves, they entrapped unawares some of the foremost of our men, which unadvisedly followed, not knowing the Countrey: And unless *Agricola* had with his presence every where assisted at need, setting about them of his bravest and most ready foot-men, as it were in form of a Toyl, and commanding some of his Cavalry to leave their Horses, where the passages were narrow, and others

where the Woods were thin, to ride up and down mounted; no doubt, sayes he, we had taken some blow by our overmuch boldness. But after they did see our men again in strong array to follow the chase in good order, they fled, (not in Troops as before, and attending each other, but utterly disbanded, and single, eschewing all company) toward the Defart, and far distant places. The night, and our fulness of blood, made an end of the chase. Of the Enemies side, Tenthousand were slain: Three hundred and forty of ours, amongst whom was *Aulus Atticus*, Commander in chief of a Cohort, upon a youthful heat, and through the fierceness of Horse, being carried into the middle of his Enemies.

That night the Winners, for their parts, solaced themselves with the Victory and Spoil: and the *Britains* being utterly broken, crying out, and howling; men and women together take and draw with them their hurt persons, call not hurt, forsake their own Houses, and in despite also set them on fire themselves; choose out Holes for to lurk in, and streightwayes forsook them; communicate some Counsels together, and then have some glimmering of hope: sometimes at the sight of their dearest beloved they are moved to pittie, more often stirred to rage: and certain it is, that some, as by way of compassion and mercy, slew their own Children and Wives. The day following, discovered more plainly the greatness of the Victory; every where desolation and silence; no stirring in the Mountains; the Houses fired and smoaking far off: no man to meet with our Scouts: who being sent abroad into all the Quarters, found by their footsteps the flight was uncertain, and that they were no where in Companies together.

Hereupon *Agricola*, because the Summer was spent, and the War could not conveniently be divided, bringing his Army into the Borders of the *Horrestians*, supposed in *Eskdale*, where receiving Hostages, he commanded the Admiral of the Navie to Sail about *Britain*, lending him Souldiers and strength for that purpose, and the terror of the *Roman* Name was gone before already; and he with easie and gentle Journeys, to terrifie the new conquered Nations, with the very stay of his passage, disposed his Footmen and Horse-

Horsemen into their Wintering Places: and withall, the Navy with prosperous Wind and success, arrived at the Port *Trutulensis*, from whence it departed; and coasting along the neereſt ſide of *Britain*, returned thither again, having invaded in its paſſage the Iſles of *Orkney*.

After this, *Domitian* the Emperor, envying his Glory, ſent for him home, when he had compleated the Conqueſt of ſo much of *Britain*, as was formed into a *Roman* Province, from the two Arms of *Glota* and *Bodotria* before mentioned, to the Southward, incluſive of that part of the Iſland; more doubtleſs he did deſign to invade and poſſeſs, and like enough he had effected it upon all the North, and Ireland alſo, if *Domitian's* apprehenſions had not recall'd and prevented him.

The Conclusion of the Roman Conqueſts in this Iſland.

THUS all on the Southern part of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, about the year of Grace, eighty ſix, was by degrees brought under ſubjection to the *Romans*, and formed into a Province, or rather three; the *Trent* and *Severne* making the Diviſions; that part next *Rome*, being called *Britania prima*; the Capital place *London*: from which *Canterbury* took after the dignity of the Seat, to the Arch-Biſhop of that Province; for the Diviſions of Eccleſiaſtical Jurisdiction, did follow thoſe of the Temporal in their firſt appointments. That which was beyond *Severne* was called *Secunda*: *Caer Leon* upon *Uske* in *Monmouthſhire*, being then the principal place, and Arch-Biſhops Seat. *Maxima Caſarienſis* was that, beyond *Trent*; *Tork* being the chief Reſidence and See.

Hence it might be, that when *Wales* was in the Princes of their Country, and diſunitied; that which remained in *England*, was divided betwixt the Juſtices in *Eyre*, by the River *Trent*, in affairs concerning the Forreſt; and the Heralds in their proper buſineſs. Hence it might be, that in the piece of Money, expoſ'd to view by Mr. *Cambden*, where on one ſide, was this Inſcription, *Hadrianus Aug. Conſul*

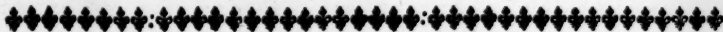
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iii. Pater Patriæ, and on the other, *Exercitus Britannicus*; three Souldiers being Pourtrayed on this, and the Emperors Effigies on the other side, (which the same Author would have to signify the three Legions, that served here about his time; that is to say, *Secunda Augusta*, *Sexta Viçtrix*, and *Vicessima Viçtrix*;) like enough it is, they had particular Relation to the three severall Provinces. And hence it might be that *Geoffry of Monmouth* did feigne the Division of the Country into *Loegria Cambria* and *Albania*, to come from the three Sons of *Brute*, *Lochrine*, *Camber* and *Albanact*; because he thought it necessary to deliver Fathers to the severall Divisions of the Country he found here.

The Provinces continued for some hundreds of years under the *Roman* Jurisdiction, the Limits a little varied and drawn back, and some Disturbances falling out, but neither very considerable.

And now was founded that Government, as I take it, here in *England*, which has continued in the bulk and gross thereof through many Ages, to this day, or at least not extinguish't at any time, though not without certain addings and subtraction, and now and then some kind of interruptions; but yet did they never so far proceed, as utterly to discontinue that Series, which had its root even in the very time of *Romulus*, at the Foundation of *Rome*. And upon the coming in of the *Romans*, here was also introduced one other form of Government, which having its Rise in the dayes of *Moses* among the *Israelites*, with a fortune not unlike the other; first insinuating it self into the *Roman* Veins, upon the Conquest of *Jury*, and then spreading into all the parts thereof, came hither also, being a Member of it, and did so incorporate into that Body, varying frequently in outward appearance, by divers Factions; but continuing in a great part the same to this day among us: both being alike, cut off from the main Body; the first many Ages agoe, the last in the dayes of *Henry* the Eighth, and united in the Person of one single Monarch: both still retaining a great Portion of the same Nature they had originally, though in some particulars altered as in such ancient things it cannot be otherwise expected. But because
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much of this many do not think of, and our Historiographers do generally give a much later Original to certain Laws, and Customs, and Divisions of our Countrey in the Civil Government ; yet reprehended some of them in the times they are positive in, by my Lord *Cook*, Mr. *Camden*, Mr. *Selden*, Sir *H. Spelman*, and other eminent Antiquaries : We will leave this Argument at present, and close with certain words of Doctor *HETLIN*, an Excellent and Judicious Geographer, of the like Nature. He having Discoursed some time of *EUROPE* upon the whole, comes at last to begin his particular Description in these words. And this shall serve for Europe in the general Notion: Descend we now to the particular Kingdoms, Regions & Islands of it, beginning first of all with *Italy*, contrary to the usage of most Geographers, who commonly begin with *Spain* or *Ireland*, as being the farthest Countreys Westward, and consequently nearest to the first Meridian, from whence the Longitude was reckoned. Which we shall do by reason of that great influence which the *Romans* had in most parts of Europe, and many parts of the World besides, in matters as well Civil as Ecclesiastical, which much depended on the Power of that Empire formerly, and on the usurpation of that Church in the latter dayes.



Courteous Reader,

BESIDES some Errors in pointing, you are desired to Correct these underwritten, which have escaped the Press by reason of the Authors absence.

In the Introduction.

P Age 26 Line 32 adde *in*. P. 32. L. 18. for *several* r. *several*.
P. 33. L. 31. for *presence* r. *Roscoe*. P. 35. L. 27. r. *to him*
who.

In the History.

P. 3. L. 17. after the word *and* r. *is*. P. 5. L. 6. for *druids* r.
denotes. L. 12. Leave out the word (*was*) P. 8. L. 25. for
Moni r. *Mons*. P. 20. L. 5. before the word *confederated* r. *their*.
P. 31. L. 3. for *Donaries* r. *Denaries*. P. 34. L. 33. r. *with other*
bounds at the Sea. P. 42. L. 28. for *upon* r. *up to*.